Chivalry as Community and Culture:
The Military Elite Of Late Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century England

by

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Illustrations

Unless otherwise stated photographs taken by author.

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Abstract

This thesis is intended to bring a fresh perspective to the study of chivalry by considering it as the predominant culture amongst a sample group of military elites from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The thesis is comprised of two interrelated parts. In the first part, prosopographical techniques are applied to the study of the careers of just under two hundred military captains selected from Edward I's campaign in Dumfries and Galloway in 1300 and Edward III's campaign in France in 1359-60. It concludes that these men formed a definable community, separate from other putative social groups in medieval society, by their collective activities in military service and through political, judicial and administrative action: whether it be as royal councillors, through participation in parliaments or appointment to judicial commissions or administrative offices. It is argued that these collective activities not only marked them out as an elite section of lay society, but also bred a common mentality and corporate identity. This corporate feeling was strengthened by the marriage alliances forged by this community which reflected a significant degree of endogamy. It is also contended that the collective interests of this group and their shared social assumptions were the prime motivators in the selection of marriage partners.

The second part of this thesis contends that chivalry was the shared culture of this group and that an investigation of the mores and cultural practices of this community can contribute to our understanding of how chivalry was manifested in late medieval society and how, as a culture, chivalry evolved over a period of time. This section assesses what textual evidence, such as chronicles, can tell us about the community's attitudes towards the essential chivalric value of prowess, and how cultural practices associated with prowess altered over time with changes in battlefield tactics and the conduct of war. This section also looks at the discourse between the shared culture of this community and the production of chivalric literature. It is argued that chivalric legends and the heroes of romance played a crucial role in formulating the identity of individual families within the community. The second part of this thesis also analyses the visual evidence of chivalric culture amongst the sample groups. It concludes that this community adopted martial symbolism and imagery in order to communicate wider social messages, such as status, lordship, ties of kinship, political affiliations and social affinities.

Abbreviations

BIHR	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*
CCR	*Calendar of Close Rolls*
CDS	*Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, ed. J. Bain, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1881-8)
CFR	*Calendar of Fine Rolls*
Chandos Herald	*Le Prince Noir: Poème du Heraut Chandos*, trans. F. Michel. (London, 1883)
CIPM	*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*
DNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: in Association with the British Academy: from the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, 60 vols. (Oxford, 2004)
EETS	*Early English Text Society*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
Froissart	*The Chronicle of Froissart*, trans. Lord J. B. Berners with introduction by W. P. Kerr, 6 vols. (London, 1901)
GEC	*The Complete Peerage*, ed. G. E. Cockayne, Revised, V. Gibbs, H. A. Doubleday and Lord H. de Walden, 13 vols. In 12 pts. (London, 1910-57)
Guisborough	*The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough: Previously Edited as the Chronicle of Walter of Hemingford or Hemingburgh*, ed. H. Rothwell, Camden 3rd series, 89 (1957)
Knighton	*Knighton's Chronicle 1337-1396*, ed. and trans., G. H. Martin. (Oxford, 1995)
Lanercost	*The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346*, trans. H. Maxwell, rpr. (Cribyn, 2001)
Langtoft	*The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, in French Verse, from the Earliest Period to the Death of King Edward I*, ed., T. Wright, 2 vols, Rolls Series, 47, Kraus repr. (London, 1964)
Le Baker	*Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, ed. E. M. Thompson (Oxford, 1889)
Liber Quot.	*Liber Quotidianus Contarotulatoris Garderobiae, 1299-1300*, ed. J. Topham (London, 1787)

Rishanger	*Quondam Monachi S.Albani et Quorundam Anonymonum et Chronica et Annales*, ed. H. T. Riley, Rolls Series 28 pt.2, Kraus rpr. (London, 1964)
Scalacronica	*Scalacronica. The Reigns of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III as Recorded by Sir Thomas Gray*, ed. and trans H. Maxwell (Glasgow, 1907)
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
TV	*Testamenta Vetusta: Being Illustrations from Wills, of Manners, Customs &c. as well as of the Descents and Possessions of Many Distinguished Families from the Reign of Henry the Second to the Accession of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. N. H. Nicholas, 2 vols. (London, 1826)
VCH	*The Victoria County History Series*

Introduction

Aims of the Thesis

> Generally speaking the medievalists of our day [the 1920s] are hardly favourable to chivalry. Combing the records, in which chivalry is, indeed, little mentioned, they have succeeded in presenting a picture of the Middle Ages in which economic and social points of view are so dominant that one tends at times to forget that, next to religion, chivalry was the strongest of the ideas that filled the hearts of those men of another age.[1]
>
> Johan Huizinga

> The cult of chivalry in the Middle Ages is not a subject that lends itself easily to analysis. It is a vague and imprecise topic, which lacks strict boundaries and overlaps the territories of the political, military and cultural historian. Ideas are always among the most nebulous agents in the historical process, and their exact influence upon the practical conduct of affairs is notoriously difficult to assess.[2]
>
> M. G. A. Vale

There can be few subjects so fundamental to our understanding of medieval history and yet so imprecisely understood by historians as the concept of chivalry. The ideas and ideals surrounding and comprising chivalry found their way into all aspects of society in the Middle Ages and this has led to the blurring of traditional (if artificial) scholastic boundaries often set by historians and medievalists. This can clearly be seen in the history of England in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which is the time period covered in this thesis. For example, in the field of military history the ideals of chivalry could dictate the conduct of war, be it through the composition of an army, battlefield tactics or even the choice of battleground.[3] Political historians also have to take account of the role of

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[1] J. Huizinga, 'The Political and Military Significance of Chivalric Ideas in the Late Middle Ages', *Men and Ideas*, trans. J. S. Holmes and H. van Marle (London, 1959), pp.196-7.

[2] M. G. A. Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (London, 1981), p.1.

[3] Andrew Ayton has recently proposed Edward III was able to bring Philip VI to battle at Crécy in 1346, where he had failed to do so at Burinfosse (1339), Tournai (1340) and Vannes (1343), as Crécy lay in Edward's 'droit heritage' in the county of Ponthieu. Ayton believes that by taking a stand in Ponthieu Edward was throwing down a challenge to Philip that could not be ignored: Edward had twice done homage to Philip in this county in 1329 and 1331. Philip's honour dictated that he could not let such a brazen act of defiance pass or else his already shaky authority would receive a mortal

chivalry in explaining both the actions of the *dramatis personae* of the political world and in the growth of political institutions. For instance, the impetus for the establishment of regular parliaments came from Edward I's need for taxation to prosecute his wars in Wales, Scotland and France; the composition of parliament was also affected by Edward's military concerns with the list of those first summoned to parliament in the 1290s corresponding with the summonses for military service.[4] Throughout the fourteenth century the link between the parliamentary baronage who received direct summonses to parliament and those who formed the military elite of the king's armies remained strong, and many of those chosen as knights of the shire were veterans of military service.[5]

The art historian is also confronted by a wealth of material culture surrounding chivalry. All levels of society in medieval England would have been familiar with visual symbols which found their roots in chivalric practices such as the tournament. From the middle of the thirteenth century heraldry became a familiar decoration in churches of all sizes across England; it would also have been seen inside aristocratic domiciles and royal residences. Furthermore, the English armies of the fourteenth century which assembled and marched towards the ports of the south coast to embark for campaigns in France, or marched towards the Scottish and Welsh borders, would have presented the viewer with a panoply of colours with heraldry adorning soldiers' clothing, banners, shields and horse trappings. At about the same time as heraldry first appeared, knight effigies, and from the fourteenth century military brasses, began to colonise religious buildings from Westminster Abbey to the most humble of parish churches, and as the populus gathered to worship they cannot but have been aware of the images of their lord's predecessors dominating these holy spaces. The scholar of medieval religion cannot ignore the constant discourse between the spiritual ideals of the church and the secular cult of chivalry, whether it be in the study of the crusades, just war theory or in the development of the theories of social ordering. Moreover, the careers of warlike churchmen, such as the warrior bishops of Durham, Anthony Bek and Thomas Hatfield, exemplify the blurring between the spiritual and secular worlds. The literary historian is also confronted by a large corpus of imaginative literature

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blow. A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy' in A. Ayton and Sir P. Preston, *The Battle of Crécy, 1346* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp.104-6.

[4] See below, pp.92-3.

[5] Ayton has noted that six out of the eight militarily active earls and a quarter of the 54 lay peers summoned to parliament in 1344 were present at the battle of Crécy. It should also be remembered that that other peers were either with Henry Earl of Derby in Gascony or involved in the defence of the Scottish border against a possible Scottish invasion at the same time. The commitment of the parliamentary baronage to Edward III's military campaigns in this year is illustrated by the fact that only 16 summons could be issued for the parliament 30th July 1346. A. Ayton, 'The Battle of Crécy: Context and Significance', in Ayton and Preston, *Crécy*, p.28, ns. 121 and 122.

connected with chivalry, from romance to the *chansons de geste*, or even the chronicles of men like Jean Froissart and Thomas Gray of Heton, whose main purpose was to relate deeds of chivalry to be remembered in perpetuity.[6] These examples of the interdisciplinary nature of the study of chivalry can be multiplied many times over.

Yet, despite its omnipresence in medieval life, chivalry has proved a difficult subject; even defining the term chivalry has proved problematic. Maurice Keen, whose monograph *Chivalry* (1984) has become a standard work on the subject, has noted that chivalry 'remains a word elusive of definition, tonal rather than precise in its implications'; furthermore it 'could and did mean different things to different people at different times'.[7] It is not that the sources available for the study of chivalry are in short supply, rather that, again in the words of Keen: 'It is a word that was used in the middle ages with different meanings and shades of meaning by different writers and in different contexts.'[8] During the Middle Ages the word 'chivalry' was used in a number of diverse ways: as a collective noun for a group of elite warriors who fought on horseback; for the military deeds of this group; as a social order, equivalent with the order of knighthood which could be contrasted with religious orders; and as a code of values apposite to political-military aristocratic elites.

Many historians have considered chivalry to have been, essentially, a set of values or a code of normative behaviour appurtenant to a military elite or aristocracy. But even if we consider chivalry as being within the bounds of this narrow definition, we are still left with the difficult question of how this normative code affected real behaviour. As we shall see some historians have found the differences between the high ideals of chivalry and the real actions of medieval knighthood too great to reconcile and have accused chivalry of having little real social application.[9] In an attempt to resolve some of the difficulties surrounding the study of chivalry, this thesis will approach chivalry by viewing it as the predominant culture amongst the aristocracy in England during the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. We will be looking at the evidence for a culture of chivalry amongst a group of military and social elites selected from two campaigns during this period. We will establish the degree to which we can consider the men of these samples as forming a distinct community in which we would expect a chivalric culture to flourish. Furthermore we will be looking for evidence of the social impact of chivalry in the actions of the men of

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[6] See below, p.149-53.

[7] M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London, 1984), p.2; M. Keen, 'Huizinga, Kilgour and the decline of Chivalry', *Medievalia et Humanistica,* new series 8 (1977): 1.

[8] Keen, *Chivalry*, p.2

[9] This approach to chivalry is apparent in the works of Johan Huizinga and Raymond Kilgour. See below, pp.12-5, 18-20, 24.

our sample and in the cultural artefacts these men produced. In this way it is hoped that more light can be shed on the manifestation of chivalry in aristocratic society.

Historiography of Chivalry

In order that we might see where this approach to the study of chivalry fits into current scholarship on the subject, it would be useful to look at the historiography of chivalry. The sheer volume of works that have been produced on chivalry over the last hundred years or so precludes any comprehensive review of the scholarship, so instead this section of the introduction will look at the dominant currents of thought amongst historians as to how chivalry should be viewed. This survey will look at the problematic legacy that the Victorian fascination with chivalry produced and see how historians' methods of viewing chivalry have changed from the turn of the twentieth century to the present day.

The revival of interest in the medieval period, and in particular medieval chivalry, from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century has cast a long shadow over modern popular perceptions of chivalry and the academic study of chivalry. The chivalric revival that this interest stimulated was apparent in both Western Europe and in the USA, but found its fullest expression, and left its most lasting impression on popular culture, in Great Britain. The characteristics of this revival of interest in chivalry and its lasting impact on the British *Zeitgeist* has been covered ably and in depth by both Ian Anstruther in *The Knight and the Umbrella* (1963) and Mark Girouard in *The Return to Camelot* (1981), and need only be recounted in brief here.[10] From the late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth century a fascination with chivalry was displayed in the highest reaches of the British aristocracy. Medieval architecture became the vogue amongst the most fashionable members of Georgian and Victorian society and mock-gothic piles sprang up across the country.[11] Furthermore, some of London's most striking landmarks, such as Barry and Pugin's Houses of Parliament,[12] Tower Bridge and St. Pancras Station were designed on

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[10] M. Girouard, *Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven and London, 1981); I. Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella: An Account of the Eglinton Tournament, 1839* (London, 1963).

[11] The classic account of the rise in the popularity of gothic design in architecture during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is Charles Eastlake's *A History of the Gothic Revival* (first published in 1872) which outlines the intellectual and cultural roots of this movement, as well as providing descriptions of over 300 buildings built in the gothic style in the nineteenth century, most of them dating from between 1820 and 1870. C. L. Eastlake, *A History of The Gothic Revival*, ed. with an introduction by J. M. Crook (Leicester, 1970). For concise reviews of the Gothic revival see, Girouard, *Return to Camelot*, pp.20-30, 43-50, 159-62; M. Girouard, *The Victorian Country House* (Oxford, 1971), pp.8-10, 33-5, 40-1.

[12] It is instructive to note that the Commons Committee which presided over the selection for the design of the new parliament buildings after the destructive fire of 1834, stipulated that all entries

medieval themes; the first two in particular are still considered by visitors as iconic of Britain and the Empire.

For the higher reaches of the aristocracy re-enactments of medieval life formed a diverting pastime, from the staging of 'medieval' balls where the guests came dressed as the chivalric heroes of the past, to the glorious farrago of the Eglinton tournament, which attempted to stage a 'real-life' medieval tournament (Plates 1 and 2).[13] Some members of the House of Lords pushed their claims for medieval baronial titles and other fashionable aristocrats added 'de' to their surnames to give them a more medieval feel and added *gravitas*.[14] The prevailing taste for the Middle Ages extended to death with some aristocrats being represented in armour in imitation of knight effigies. Prince Albert's cenotaph effigy in the Prince Albert Memorial Chapel, Windsor, provides a good example of this type of monument, providing a strange iconographic amalgamation of a Victorian gentleman and chivalric knight (Plate 3).[15]

The dream of chivalry was brought to a wider audience in the literature and artistic products of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Through his immensely popular books such as *Ivanhoe* (1820), *Quentin Durward* (1823) and *The Talisman* (1825), Walter Scott's vision of the Middle Ages gained a wide readership.[16] His novels had an enduring appeal and other great authors of the nineteenth century fuelled the public's passion for chivalry. Prominent amongst these authors was Tennyson, who reworked Mallory's *Morte d'Arthur* in his *Idylls of the King* (these were a series of poems set in the court of Camelot produced between 1859-73) and Arthur Conan Doyle, who had wished to be remembered for *The White Company* (1890) and *Sir Nigel* (1906), both set during the Hundred Years' War, rather than his Sherlock Holmes novels.[17] In art too, the paintings of men such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Edward Burne-Jones, George Watts, William Morris, Joseph Noel-

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should be designed either in a Gothic or Elizabethan style. A. Fredericksen, 'Parliament's Genius Loci: The Politics of Place after the 1834 Fire', in C. Riding and J. Riding (eds.), *The House of Parliament: History, Art, Architecture* (London, 2000), pp.99-112. For Barry's winning design see in the same volume, A. Wedgwood, 'The New Palace of Westminster', pp.113-38.

[13] The best modern account of the Eglinton Tournament is Anstruther, *Knight and the Umbrella*, *passim*; see also, Girouard, *Return to Camelot*, ch. 7.

[14] Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella*, pp.74-83.

[15] Girouard, *Return to Camelot*, pp.125-8.

[16] Ibid., ch. 3. Girouard provides a lively account of Walter Scott's life works and interests and places his literary career in the context of the chivalric rival of the early nineteenth century.

[17] Ibid., pp.180-5,196-7, 264, 273.

Paton and John Everett Millias brought their own interpretation of the chivalric knight to life with their romantic depictions of knight errantry and scenes from Arthurian legends.[18]

For some nineteenth-century political and social activists and historians, the values of chivalry could also provide a moral template for the Victorian gentleman. Particularly influential in this respect was Kenelm Henry Digby, whose book *The Broad Stone of Honour* achieved great popularity throughout the nineteenth century, appearing in four volumes in 1828-9 and 1844-8 and enlarged to five volumes in 1877.[19] *The Broad Stone of Honour* presents the reader with an eclectic mix of ideas centred on the author's conception of chivalry and its applicability for the modern world. For Digby, 'Chivalry is only the name for that general spirit or state of mind which disposes men to heroic and generous actions, and keeps them conversant in all that is beautiful and sublime in the intellectual world.'[20] He goes on to promote other ideas that would shape the Victorian and Edwardian idea of gentlemanliness based on his understanding of chivalry: namely that character is more important than intellect, that a gentleman should take part in exercise and sports, and that money promotes base instincts, thus excluding the mercantilist middle-class from ever achieving gentleman status. Many of Digby's ideas were instilled in youths through the public school system which promoted involvement in manly physical activities and the playing of sports such as football, rugby and cricket.[21] The altruistic idea of service was also engendered in many public school boys who were expected to form the governing class of Britain and the Empire, and to swear unswerving loyalty to the monarchy.[22]

The social utility of the chivalric ideal was expanded upon by the historian Thomas Carlyle, who formulated a unique view of the potential role of chivalry in government in *Past and Present* (1843). Carlyle perceived a Utopian system whereby the country would be governed by a hero or a governing class comprised of heroes, noble in heart and soul, who could rise above base self-interest and bring about justice. He believed that through

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[18] For a brief review of the works of these artists and the chivalric spirit of the Victorian period which inspired their works see, Girouard, *Return to Camelot*, pp.150-9, chapters, 12 and 13. Many of these artists were associated with the 'Pre-Raphaelite' movement; more general criticisms of their works, and the works of associated artists, can be found in, Tate Gallery, *The Pre-Raphaelites* (London, 1984); A. Wilton and R. Upstone, *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Watts: Symbolism in Britain, 1860-1910* (London, 1997); E. Prettejohn, *The Art of the Pre-Raphaelites* (London, 2000).

[19] Burne-Jones was a fan of *The Broad Stone of Honour* keeping it and another of Digby's works *Mores Catholici* next to his bed. He commented that they were 'Sillyish books both, but I can't help it, I like them.' Girouard, *Return to Camelot*, pp.63-4.

[20] Ibid., p.62.

[21] Ibid., ch. 15. For the association between the promotion of sport in public schools during the nineteenth century and Digby and Thomas Carlyle's vision of muscular chivalry, see pp.232-3.

[22] Ibid., ch. 11.

adherence to the chivalric ideal the indolent aristocracy could be forged into a real governing class and the selfish, but hard-working, industrialist could be remoulded into noble 'Captains of Industry'.[23] In this vision Carlyle was inspired by the example of the Christian Socialist movement that tried, often at the cost of their own reputation and monetary expense, to improve the lot of the working man. Recalling the medieval knight's duty to protect the Church, the weak, and women and children, the Christian Socialists saw their mission as a chivalric quest and often used chivalric metaphors; Charles Kingsley, one of the movement's founders, once described himself as a 'joyous knight errant of God.'[24]

The chivalric revival of the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century had two main consequences relevant to this thesis. Firstly, the modern popular perception of chivalry owes much to the presentation of chivalry in the popular literature of the nineteenth century. Mark Girouard has written that Scott amalgamated 'a medieval knight errant with a modern [i.e. early nineteenth-century] gentleman' and his novels would never contain anything that would 'embarrass a contemporary young lady',[25] with the result that the perception of chivalry moved far away from its medieval roots. Their conception of chivalry lives on in the modern idea that a chivalrous person is embodied in a gentleman who opens doors for ladies and is polite and honest in word and deed. Moreover, Maurice Keen has written of the evocative nature of chivalry: 'conjuring up images of the mind – of the knight fully armed, perhaps with a crusader's red cross sewn upon his surcoat; of martial adventures in strange lands; of castles with tall towers and of the fair women who dwelt in them.'[26] This imagery owes much to the presentation of chivalry in the novels of Scott and his contemporaries and is further reinforced in the artworks of Rossetti, Burne-Jones and their contemporaries, who depicted chivalry in a sentimental and romantic way. They focused on the emotional connections between knights and their ladies and revelled in the idea of knight errantry. Their paintings have entered our subconscious notions of chivalry. Knights are heroic and pure, pictured riding alone through romantic landscapes and viewed in soft focus: they give visual form to the stereotypical view of the 'knight in shining armour'.

Secondly the chivalric revival also affected the academic study of medieval chivalry and the study of medieval history in general, not least in bringing the history of the Middle Ages to a popular audience. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, while Walter

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[23] Ibid., pp.130-1.

[24] Ibid., p.132.

[25] Ibid., p.37.

[26] Keen, *Chivalry*, p.1.

Scott was producing some of his greatest historical novels, historians and antiquarians fed the popular interest in the Middle Ages with a rash of works. Scott's friend George Ellis brought Middle English literature to a wider audience with his *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romance* (1805). The legend of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table also found a new audience: Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* had not been reprinted since 1634, but three different editions came out between 1816 and 1817.[27] Medieval chronicles also gained an avid readership with Thomas Johnes producing a three-volume translation of Froissart's chronicles between 1803 and 1805, and translations of the chronicles of Joinville (1807), Brocqière (1807) and Monstrelet (1809).[28] A great many gentlemen also became interested in antiquarianism and the study of heraldry, which in turn stimulated interest in knight effigies.[29] One of the finest products of the antiquarian interest in knight effigies is C. A. Stothard's *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (1811-33), which is still of great utility to the student of sepulchral monuments.[30]

The nineteenth century also saw a number of monographs specifically focusing on the subject of medieval chivalry and it is here that our historiography of chivalry begins. To a great extent the romanticism illustrated by the chivalric revival, with the building of mock-gothic mansions, and the idealisation of knighthood in art and literature pervaded these early histories of chivalry. Two of the more popular histories of chivalry from the nineteenth century, one written in England in the 1820s and one written in France in the 1880s, exemplify this romantic approach to the study of chivalry.

Charles Mills' *The History of Chivalry* (1825) received a wide readership and due to its popularity was reprinted in 1826.[31] This monograph had two central aims: firstly to present his own interpretation as to what chivalry was and secondly to describe deeds of chivalry from the chronicles of England, France, Spain, Italy and Germany in the Middle Ages. The first volume of his book is dedicated to the history of chivalry, tracing the

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[27] A. D. Culler, *The Victorian Mirror of History* (New Haven and London, 1985), pp.153-4.

[28] Girouard, *Return to Camelot*, p.42.

[29] The study of medieval sepulchral monuments also received a boost from Richard Gough's magisterial survey produced late in the eighteenth century. R. Gough, *The Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, 3 vols. in 5 pts. (London, 1786-99).

[30] C. A. Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*, new edn., ed. J. Hewitt (London, 1876).

[31] Charles Mills status as a popular historian had been confirmed with the success of an earlier work, *The History of the Crusades* first published in 1820, but already running to a fourth edition by 1828. Keegan Paul has recently reprinted *The History of Chivalry* as part of their Library of Chivalry: C. Mills, *The History of Chivalry or Knighthood and Its Times*, 2 vols. (London, New York, Bahrain, 2004).

origins of the idea of chivalry[32] and the ceremonies of knighthood[33] as well as assessing the 'chivalric character'.[34] This is really an exploration of the values that comprised chivalry and the behavioural mores that distinguished chivalry, including the outrageous bravery of knights, their high sense of honour, their piety and humility, their loyalty to their liege lord and their courtesy and liberality. Mills also looks at chivalric practices such as brotherhood in arms, the granting of ransoms, the reckless bravery that the making of vows before battles induced and the romance of knight errantry. Other subjects comprising the history of chivalry included 'dames, damsels and lady-love'[35] (which was, not surprisingly, an exploration of what literary historians disagree to call 'courtly love'), an exploration of the development of tournaments and jousts[36] and crusading orders of knighthood, and the relationship between orders of chivalry such as the Order of the Garter and the Bath and the 'fabulous' orders of the Knights of the Round Table and the Order of the Stocking.[37]

This approach to the study of chivalry is not significantly different to that of more modern scholars, such as Maurice Keen and Malcolm Vale. Mills even uses similar source materials, drawing upon chronicles, in particular Froissart, Middle English and French romances; and treatises on individual subjects relating to chivalry, such as Geoffrey de la Tour Landry, whose book of advice to his daughters on matters of love formed the basis for Mills' discussion on 'lady-love'.[38] However, his liberal use of Spencer's *Fairy Queen* and Cervantes' *Don Quixote* as an aid to reconstructing medieval chivalry may strike the modern reader as being a little unusual. Mills uses these sources to create an ideal type of knight, and for him it is never far away from the image of the knight in shining armour, as this extract from the beginning of chapter three which discusses the equipment of a knight shows.

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[32] Mills, *History of* Chivalry, 1: ch. 1. This chapter traces the origins of chivalry from the descriptions of the warrior cultures of Germanic tribes as described by Roman historians such as Tacitus.

[33] Ibid., ch. 2, which characterises the education of a knight through a discussion of the role of a squire and then goes on to look at how a squire gained entry into knighthood and how that honour might be removed through disgraceful actions.

[34] ch. 3 of Mills' work comprises of a lengthy discussion of medieval armour, the 'Chivalric character' is discussed in ch.4.

[35] Ibid., ch. 5

[36] Ibid., ch. 6

[37] Ibid., ch. 7

[38] Perhaps Geoffrey's rather conservative views on sexual morality accorded well with the mores of the early nineteenth century aristocracy, making Geoffrey a particularly appropriate knightly role model for Mills.

> Never was military costume more splendid and graceful than in the days which are emphatically called "the days of the shield and the lance". What can modern warfare present in comparison with the bright and glittering scene of a goodly company of gentle knights pricking on the plain with nodding plumes, emblazoned shields, silken pennons streaming in the wind, and the scarf that beautiful token of lady-love, crossing the strong and polished steel cuirass.[39]

In the second part of the book, which stretches from the last chapter of the first volume and incorporates the whole of the second volume, Mills attempts to bring the world of the chivalrous knight back to life by charting what he calls 'the progress' of chivalry in England, France, Spain, Italy and Germany, which is plotted through case studies of the heroes of chivalry from each country. The reign of Edward III obviously had great attraction for Mills and merited a chapter on its own. Almost exclusively drawing upon Froissart, Mills recounts the heroic deeds of Walter Mauny, James Audley and John Chandos, 'whose lives were so brilliant and glorious that the golden age of chivalry seems . . . [like] a poet's dream.'[40] In the same vein the glories of chivalry in France are described through biographies of Du Guesclin and Bayard and in Spanish chivalry is encapsulated by the story of El Cid. This part of the book no doubt accounts for *The History of Chivalry*'s popularity. The success of Johnes' translations of medieval chronicles brought 'real' deeds of chivalry to a new generation of wide-eyed readers, fired by the romantic novels of Walter Scott. For Mills and his readers the Middle Ages were a romantic era full of courteous knights carrying out deeds of derring-do, and mark Mills out as belonging to the romantic tradition of chivalric historiography.

These romantic traits can also be seen in Leon Gautier's *La Chevalrie* (1884).[41] This work is not only important because of its wide readership, but also due to the longevity of its academic influence. As late as the 1940s Sidney Painter still drew upon Gautier's classic accounts of the knighting ceremonies and the history of the tournament.[42] The style of *La Chivalrie* owed much to Gautier's unique knowledge of the *Chansons de geste* and his

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[39] Mills, *History of Chivalry*, 1: 65-6.

[40] Ibid., 2: 25. Parenthesis added.

[41] Gautier's work is translated into English and abridged in: L. Gautier, *Chivalry*, ed., J. Levron, trans., D. C. Dunning (New York, 1965). This edition also contains a useful account of Gautier's life and works in the preface.

[42] See the preface to, S. Painter, *French Chivalry, Chivalric Ideas and Practices in Medieval France* (Ithica, New York, 1940). See also: J. duQuesnay Adams, 'Modern Views of Medieval Chivalry, 1884-1984', in H. Chickering and T. H. Seiler (eds.), *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches* (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1988), p.53.

fervent Catholic Christianity.[43] He provides us with a miscellany of the medieval world as seen through the eyes of an ideal knight; for example, the chapter concerning 'The Infancy of the Future Knight' provides the author with the opportunity to expand on common modes of thought in the Middle Ages, from astrology to the form of medieval maps, dressing each up as something which would typically be taught to the son of a medieval French baron.[44] The knight who forms the centrepiece of this story is a combination of the characters from the epic *Chansons*, such as Roland, Oliver and Ogier the Dane, and his own imagination. Gautier aimed to recreate the mental and sensual world of his ideal knight, and his description of his baron's hall gives us a flavour of his approach:

> Like the bedchamber, the dining hall was also strewn with flowers and foliage, and there was always a sweet pervasive odour of wild mint. And that was not all – the windows were fitted with stained glass, where red, green, or blue sparkled in the morning light like so many rubies, emeralds, or sapphires.[45]

Although the novelistic style of the passage quoted above has little appeal to the modern historian of chivalry, Gautier's account of chivalry is not without sharp analysis. His description of the form and development of the knighting ceremony, drawing upon French literature from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, foreshadowed Jean Flori's more recent works, and his review of the development of the tournament and its importance to chivalric ideology is succinct and instructive, even if his account of a typical tourney strays into the realms of fantasy.[46] Moreover, Gautier provides us with an early attempt to synthesise chivalry as a code. He explains the code of chivalry in the form of ten knightly commandments: for example, 'thou shalt believe all that the Church teaches and shalt obey all her commandments'; 'thou shalt respect all weaknesses and shalt constitute thyself the defender of them'.[47] This conception of chivalry clearly owes a lot to the romantic revival of chivalry in the nineteenth century and Gautier's own prejudices. Nonetheless, Gautier's attempt to deconstruct the values of chivalry lays the foundations for the modern study of the subject.

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[43] From 1859 to 1896 Gautier held a senior position in the French National Archives at Paris, where he developed his love for old French poetry and the epic literature of the *chansons de geste*, which remained the focus throughout his career of his studies and published works. Between 1871 and 1896 he also took up the position of Professor of Palaeography at the School of Palaeography at Paris where he enthused generations of students to the study of the Middle Ages. Gautier, *Chivalry*, p.xvii- xxvii.

[44] Ibid., pp.50-9.

[45] Ibid., p.234.

[46] Ibid., chs. 1, 5 and pp.266-72, 272-83. For Flori, see below, pp.17-8.

[47] Ibid., pp.9-10.

One important legacy of *La Chivalrie* comes at the end of Chapter 2 on the code of chivalry. Unlike Mills' assertion that the golden age of chivalry was the fourteenth century, Gautier maintained that the age of chivalry was at its height during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and that 'by the thirteenth century the pure spirit of chivalry had been debased.'[48] Here Gautier presents us with a case for a 'decline' of chivalry, a theory which would have a long history in the study of chivalry. Perhaps unsurprisingly, considering his passion for the *chansons de geste*, Gautier pinpoints the decline of chivalry with the decline in the popularity of epic poetry and the rise of 'the *Romance of the Round Table*.' He believed that this type of literature encouraged knights to indulge in sensual pleasures which replaced the more manly and martial form of chivalry promoted by the *chansons*: 'In this way, temerity replaced true courage, good, polite manners replaced heroic rudeness, and foolish generosity replaced the charitable austerity of early chivalry.'[49] One of the main weaknesses in this theory is that Gautier seems to be comparing the shortcomings of knighthood from the thirteenth century against his own vision of knighthood from an earlier period, which we have seen was largely a product of his own imagination and the idealised characters of the *chansons de geste.* However, there are certain similarities between Gautier's vision of the decline of chivalry and that of Johan Huizinga in his *Herfsttij de Middeleeuwen* (1919), which was the next significant work to leave a lasting impression on the study of chivalry.

The inspiration for *Herfsttij de Middeleeuwen* came from Huizinga's passion for the art of the Van Eyck brothers. In his book he wished to explore the 'spirit' of the age that produced their master works.[50] Huizinga tells us that the idea for this work came to him in 1907 whilst walking in the countryside around Groningen, when he was struck by the thought that 'the late Middle Ages were not so much a prelude to the future [i.e. the renaissance] as an epoch of fading and decay'.[51] The phrase *Herfsttij* translates literally as 'the tide of autumn' and is central to Huizinga's thesis.[52] Thus the later Middle Ages were an autumnal period between two historical springs: the past spring of the high Middle Ages

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[48] Ibid., p.9.

[49] Ibid., p.28.

[50] J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. F. Hopman, (Harmondsworth, 1990), preface to first English edition, and p.7.

[51] J. Huizinga, 'My Path to History', in J. Huizinga, *Dutch Civilization in the Seventeenth Century and Other Essays*, ed. P. Geyl and F. W. N. Hugenholtz, trans. A. J. Pomerans (London, 1968), pp.272-3.

[52] E. Peters and W. P. Simons, 'The New Huizinga and the Old Middle Ages', *Speculum* 74 (1999): 605.

and the future spring of the Renaissance.[53] However, in the first English translation of his work, in which Huizinga collaborated, *Herfsttij de Middeleeuwen* was rendered as *The Waning of the Middle Ages* which has led to misunderstandings of Huizinga's purpose.[54] As Margaret Aston pointed out: 'Autumn is a season of ripeness and harvest as well as over-ripeness and fall'.[55] This is perhaps closer to Huizinga's vision than the purely negative connotations of *Waning*: 'The art and literature of the fifteenth century in France and the Netherlands are almost exclusively concerned with giving a finished and ornate form to a system of ideas which had long since ceased to grow.'[56] For example, Huizinga asserts that the religious life of the later Middle Ages was dominated by two factors: 'the extreme saturation of the religious atmosphere and a marked tendency of thought to embody itself in images'.[57] So in the case of the representation of saints in religious art:

> The emotional constituent of the veneration of the saints had fastened so firmly on the forms and colour of their images that mere aesthetic perception was constantly threatening to obliterate the religious element. The vivid impression presented by the aspect of the images with their pious or ecstatic look, rich gilding, and sumptuous apparel, all admirably reproduced by a very realistic art, hardly left any room for doctrinal reflection . . . In the popular imagination the saints were living and were as gods.[58]

Thus, the image of a saint had become separate from the ideal it was supposed to represent, and medieval man was one step away from idolatry.

It is within this context that Huizinga viewed chivalry from the second half of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He asserted that during this period the ideal of chivalry had become divorced from the real practice of chivalry. Thus the gaudy pageantry,

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[53] M. Aston, 'Huizinga's Harvest: England and *The Waning of the Middle Ages*', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, new ser. 9 (1979): 2. See also Peters and Simons, 'The New Huizinga', p.606

[54] Peters and Simons, 'The New Huizinga', p.605. The most recent edition of the book in English has in fact replaced the phrase 'Waning' with 'Autumn': J. Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. R. J. Payton and U. Mammitzsch, (Chicago, 1996). However, this volume is not entirely satisfactory: Huizinga's rhetorical style has been emasculated in their translation, which seems to have drawn heavily on the first German translation of this work published in 1924. See, W. Simon, 'Review Article: The Autumn of the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 72 (1997): 488-91. Although abridged, the Hopman translation will be used where possible in this thesis as it is closer to the 'spirit' of Huizinga's original work.

[55] M. Aston, 'Huizinga's Harvest', p.2.

[56] Huizinga, *Waning*, p.263.

[57] Ibid., p.147.

[58] Ibid, pp.168-9.

pretentious displays of courtesy, ostentatious tournaments, extravagant orders of chivalry (like the Order of the Fleece in Burgundy and the Order of the Star in France) and the boastful vows made before campaigns, which seem to be such a prominent feature of late medieval chivalry, are no more than imitations of what these men thought chivalry had been. This is no better illustrated than in the wars of the period, where knights tried to imitate the actions of the heroes of romance and the *chansons de geste*, whereby the chivalrous warrior must fight on horseback even though real battlefield tactics 'had long since given up all thought of conforming to its rules.'[59] In his lecture to the general assembly of the Société d'Histoire Diplomatique in 1921, Huizinga neatly summed up his argument: 'Whatever chivalry may have been at the time of the Crusades, it is generally agreed today that in the fourteenth or fifteenth century it was nothing more than a rather artificial revival of things long dead, a sort of deliberate and insincere renascence of ideas drained of any real value.'[60] Again the gap between the image of chivalry and its late medieval reality is at the heart of Huizinga's thesis. To quote Maurice Keen's insightful analysis of Huizinga's view of chivalry:

> By overloading its [chivalry's] dream of heroism with all the available resources of fantasy, art and wealth, it has transmuted an ethical ideal into a merely aesthetic one . . . The value of the thing signified, the heroic ideal of the earlier romances, has been lost to sight in a quest for imitative decoration . . . Huizinga thus offers an analysis of chivalry in its last phase, in which picturesque efflorescence can no longer successfully conceal the gap between illusion an reality.[61]

Huizinga's view of chivalry in decline during the later Middle Ages had an enduring appeal. His thesis was repeated and expanded upon by Raymond Kilgour in his influential book *The Decline of Chivalry* (1937).[62] In this work Kilgour stridently asserts some of the implicit assumptions made by Huizinga.[63] In the later Middle Ages, Kilgour contends, chivalry had entered its decadent phase:

> Chivalry . . . passed through three stages of development: the age of superiority, the age of privilege, and the age of vanity. Its first heroic age achieved the amazing fusion of

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[59] Huizinga, *Waning*, p.100.

[60] Huizinga, 'Political and Military Significance', p.197.

[61] Keen, 'Huizinga, Kilgour', pp.3-4.

[62] R. L. Kilgour, *The Decline of Chivalry as Shown in the French Literature of the Later Middle Ages*, repr. (Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1966).

[63] Keen, 'Huizinga, Kilgour', p.4.

> military glory with religious fervour. With the gradual weakening of these great motive forces chivalry was content to rest upon its laurels elaborating its standards of courtesy and gallantry. The final period shows us a chivalry bent on mad, exaggerated display, as if to hide its impotence and its sordid vices under gilded armor and flowered silk.[64]

For Kilgour there was a gaping chasm between the dream of chivalry and the harsh realities of life: 'Chivalry had thus become a sort of game whose participants in order to forget reality, turned to the illusion of a brilliant, heroic existence . . . It became more and more a code of public display, divorced from the duties of everyday life, in which less elevated conceptions would be far more convenient.'[65] The proof of this 'illusion' lay in the criticisms of chivalry in the writings of men such as Eustace Deschamps, Honoré Bonet, Jean Gerson and Alain Chartier. Huizinga and Kilgour established an orthodox view of chivalry, where the ideal of chivalry became divorced from the realities of life and thus relegated to a sort of aristocratic 'traditional fiction' or worse 'a noble game with edifying and heroic rules',[66] which did not receive serious revision until the 1970s.[67] The Tudor historian Arthur Ferguson in *The Indian Summer of English Chivalry: Studies in the Decline and Transformation of Chivalric Idealism* (1960), also felt that the chivalric revival at the court of Henry VIII had fallen short of its ideals and failed to meet the political needs of the monarch which had prompted its resurgence.[68]

Before we look in more depth at the criticisms which Huizinga and Kilgour's vision of chivalry received in the late 1970s and early 1980s, it would be as well to look at some works that took a different approach to the study of chivalry and greatly furthered our knowledge of the subject. In *French Chivalry* (1940), Sidney Painter focused upon the currents of thought that shaped chivalry in France between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. Painter identifies three different elements which combined to form chivalry during this period under the headings: feudal chivalry, religious chivalry and courtly love. Under the heading of feudal chivalry, Painter discusses the qualities, or virtues, which were important to the idea of chivalry, and developed as a result of the aristocracy's role as a

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[64] Kilgour, *Decline of Chivalry*, p.3.

[65] Ibid., p.8.

[66] Huizinga, *Waning*, pp.65-66.

[67] J. Barnie, *War in Medieval Society: Social Values and the Hundred Years' War, 1377-99* (London, 1974), pp.57-8; Keen , 'Huizinga, Kilgour', p.1; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp.1-2.

[68] A. B. Ferguson, *The Indian Summer of English Chivalry: Studies in the Decline and Transformation of Chivalric Idealism* (Durham, North Carolina, 1960); Adams, 'Modern Views', p.53.

military elite in society due to their tenurial obligations to a superior lord. Painter lists these virtues as prowess, which he considers the essential quality of knighthood, loyalty, largesse, courtesy and the desire to achieve glory and prestige.[69] He then goes on to assess how far the knighthood of medieval France took these ideas seriously, and unlike Huizinga, Painter thought these values were largely adhered to.[70] In the following two chapters Painter assesses the extent that the writings of religious writers and the idea of courtly love, which reached knights through romance literature, affected chivalric conduct. Although he accepted that religious ideas were important in shaping chivalry, Painter maintains that chivalry displayed a large degree of independence from the Church and that the Church's criticisms had little effect on knightly behaviour.[71] The effect of courtly love on the conduct of knights was more problematic, mainly due to the paucity of information on their private lives, causing us to rely so heavily on didactic works of men like Geoffrey la Tour de Landry and romance literature.[72] Nevertheless, Painter believed that the precepts of courtly love were accepted by knights and eased their transition into courtiers and gentlemen.[73]

In the final chapter of his book Painter concludes that 'medieval France knew neither a single ideal of knighthood nor a universally accepted code of chivalry' and that the three 'types' of chivalry, which he analysed in the preceding chapters, were by their nature mutually exclusive.[74] Furthermore, each proponent of one 'type' of chivalry ventured to create a perfected model of knighthood which conformed to his own idea: 'While the creators of Lancelot and Galahad sought to produce models of courtly and religious chivalry, most writers made a selection to suit their own tastes from a whole mass of chivalric ideas.'[75] Painter's vision of chivalry is complex, built upon shifting sands: he sees the idea of chivalry as continually changing through a constant exchange of ideas between the military caste, the church and authors concerned with courtly love.

In post-war France, Georges Duby and Jean Flori, amongst others, have approached the study of chivalry from a different perspective, focusing less on the social impact of chivalric ideas or ideals and looking more to the development of knighthood as a social

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[69] Painter, *French Chivalry*, pp.29-37.

[70] Ibid., pp.37-45, 54-64.

[71] Ibid., p.94.

[72] Ibid., pp.146-7.

[73] Ibid., p.148.

[74] Ibid., p.149.

[75] Ibid., p.166.

class. In his magisterial survey of charters in the Mâconnais region of Burgundy from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, Duby concluded that the term *miles* first appeared in the 970s and by the end of the eleventh century had become a mark of social distinction associated with the aristocracy.[76] He also noted that by this time the term *miles* was not just applied to the individual, but was inheritable, denoting the development of knighthood as a coherent social category which would later fit into the popular medieval schema of the three orders of society. Duby saw this period as witnessing the fusion between the ideas of nobility and aristocracy, a key feature of medieval chivalry.[77] Jean Flori has supplemented and refined Duby's research by looking at the usage of the phrase *chevalier* in the *chansons de geste* in the twelfth century. Flori concluded that before 1180 the *chansons* portrayed the *chevalier* as a skilled soldier rather than a social class, but during a brief but productive period between 1180 and 1200, the idea of chivalry as a social order develops, and during the thirteenth century the chivalric order narrows and consolidates to form a caste.[78] Key to the development of knighthood as an order was the entry into its membership by 'ritual instillation.'[79] Moreover, greater coherence was brought to the knights as a social group in this period, through the adoption of chivalric values: knighthood 'took up the ethic that had been offered to it for more than a century and adopted it as its own moral code, thus becoming an *ordo*, which justified its existence of such *a posteriori*.'[80] Flori's investigation of the dubbing ceremony also provides us with the fullest revision of this aspect of

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[76] Following Duby's pioneering work similar studies of English and Angevine knighthood have flourished. Of particular interest to the scholars following in Duby's wake are the introduction of the knights fee after the Norman Conquest and the transformation of knighthood into an exclusive social rank in the thirteenth century. Peter Coss and David Crouch neatly summarise the present state of scholarship on these subjects: P. R. Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England, 1000-1400*, paperback edn. (Stroud, 1995), ch. 3; D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London and New York, 1992), ch. 4. See also a perceptive article by K. Faulkner, 'The Transformation of Knighthood in Early Thirteenth-Century England', *EHR* 111 (1996): 1-23.

[77] The most recent revisions of Duby's views can be found in: G. Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. C. Postan (London, 1977), chs. 3, 6 and particularly chapter 11. See also: G. Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Chicago and London, 1980), particularly ch. 22; Adams, 'Modern Views', pp.54-60.

[78] Adams, 'Modern Views', pp.61-3, provides a useful summary of Flori's thesis.

[79] J. Flori, 'Sémantique et Société Médiévale. Le Verbe Adouber et son Évolution au XIIe Siècle', *Annales Économies, Société, Civilisations* 31 (1976): 915-40. Translation from Duby, *Three Orders*, p.300.

[80] J. Flori, 'La Notion de Chevalerie dans les Chanson de Geste du XIIe Siècle. Etude Historique de Vocabulaire, *Le Moyen Age* 81 (1975): 211-44. Translation from Duby, *Three Orders*, p.300; see also Keen, *Chivalry*, pp.72-3.

knighthood and its influence on shaping medieval ideas of chivalry since Gautier's *La Chivalrie.*[81]

During the 1970s and early 1980s, as Duby and Flori were refining their theses on the origins and wider social context of knighthood, a number of scholars on the other side of the Channel turned their attention to the idea of chivalry as a martial code, tracing the origins and development of this code throughout the Middle Ages and the effect that it had on aristocratic behaviour. It is at this point that Johan Huizinga returns to our story, as much of this scholarship refuted Huizinga and Kilgour's contention that chivalry as a code of behaviour declined in the later Middle Ages. One of the earliest critics of this hypothesis was John Barnie in *War in Medieval Society* (1974). In a perceptive chapter on 'Aristocracy, Knighthood and Chivalry', Barnie rebuts the idea that chivalry had 'no real influence' on the land-owning aristocracy and gentry.[82] Barnie believed that this view was based on the gap between what we might call the code of normative behaviour (outlined in the moralising treatises of churchman, the manuals for chivalric instruction, such as Ramon Llull's *Libre del Ordre de Cavalyleria,* and romance literature) and the real performance of knights themselves. Barnie believed that the chivalric code presented in these textual sources was too complex to be followed 'to the letter' and that the 'code acknowledged by [those who made a profession of arms] was at once both simpler and more eclectic.'[83] It was influenced by those sources, 'but it was essentially the code of a military caste based on inherited values of ideas independent of either. Some of these values (honour, pride, fealty) were held to be immutable. Others (techniques of warfare, standards of civility) were open to change as contemporary fashion dictated.'[84] Here Barnie can reconcile the contradictions between the religious and the 'courtly' elements of chivalry that Painter found so problematic and refute Huizinga's assumption that in the later Middle Ages chivalric ideals had become divorced from real practice, creating merely an illusion of chivalry. Barnie concluded that:

> Not everyone approached chivalry with the same degree of seriousness, or even agreed as to the exact nature of the ideal to be followed . . . But imprecisely defined and self-contradictory as it often was, chivalry provided a substructure of ideas and values which influenced the characteristic outlook and not infrequently the actions of

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[81] J. Flori, 'Sémantique et Société Médiévale', pp.201-20; J. Flori, 'Du Nouveau sur L'adoubement des Chevaliers (XIe-XIIIe Siècles), *Le Moyen Age* 91 (1985): 201-26; Gautier, *Chivalry*, ch. 5.

[82] Barnie, *War in Medieval Society*, ch. 3.

[83] Ibid., p.58. Parenthesis added.

[84] Ibid.

> the aristocrats and knights who were closely concerned in the war with France.[85]

Barnie went some way to refuting the idea that chivalry had little impact on the actions of the aristocracy in the later Middle Ages and this idea received further blows from two of the most influential writers on chivalry in the late twentieth century: Maurice Keen and M. G. A. Vale. Keen rightly pointed out that Huizinga's and Kilgour's idea of the decline of chivalry in the later Middle Ages rested upon the assumption that in an earlier period the ideas of chivalry were taken seriously by its protagonists: however, this idea was never fully articulated by either author.[86] Kilgour used the complaints of late medieval French authors and poets as evidence to chivalry's decline, but, as again Keen points out, as early as the twelfth century, in chivalry's supposed 'Golden Age', writers such as Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury lamented the loss of vigour amongst a new generation of young knights who were obsessed with effete fashions.[87] He argues that we should view the complaints of churchmen and moralists as fulfilling a literary *topos* rather than taking them at face value. Keen also re-assesses the role of chivalry and chivalric display in politics and war; asserting that the chivalric displays of potentates, such as the dukes of Burgundy and Edward IV of England, were not mere posturing, but a necessary display of power for regimes that either had shallow roots or lacked authority.[88] Keen concludes that in the late Middle Ages: 'Chivalry was something that . . . secular princes could exploit, not because it was an enjoyable game, but because it was an ideal with largely secular foundations and which was still taken seriously by a very important sector of people.'[89] Vale builds upon this idea in *War and Chivalry* (1982). He emphasises the role the chivalric orders, such as the Burgundian *Croissant* and René of Anjou's *Toison d'Or*, played in creating and bolstering political affinities and their value as a propaganda tool for promoting the political ambitions of these princes.[90] He also asserts that tournaments were still an essential part of military training in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He contends that tournaments remained a 'school of arms' in the late medieval period and that

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[85] Ibid., p.96.

[86] Keen, 'Huizinga, Kilgour', pp.4-5. This idea was treated with scepticism but not expanded upon by Sidney Painter; Painter, *French Chivalry*, p.92-3, n.33.

[87] Keen, 'Huizinga, Kilgour', p.5-7; Painter makes a similar point without overtly refuting Kilgour's view: Painter, *French Chivalry*, pp.92-3.

[88] Keen, 'Huizinga, Kilgour', pp.10-3.

[89] Ibid., p.17.

[90] Vale, *War and Chivalry*, ch.3.

the cavalry charge and the sword still had a vital role to play in war despite the increasing use of firearms in the fifteenth century. Moreover, he argues that as with the creation of orders of chivalry, the holding of tournaments, as great social occasions, conferred a great degree of prestige upon a prince.[91]

This revisionist view of Huizinga's thesis receives support from Juliet Vale in *Edward III and Chivalry* (1982).[92] In this book Vale attempted, in her words, 'to provide as concrete a picture as possible of 'chivalric culture' at Edward III's court.' Vale defines 'chivalric culture' as 'the expression – whether in activities such as tournaments and games, or in literary tastes, objects of devotion and artistic form – of social assumptions which ostensibly set a premium upon distinctly knightly values of behaviour.'[93] Her study places the cultural milieu of Edward III's court in its historical and geographical context. She found that there was a striking degree of continuity between the chivalric tastes of the court of Edward III and those of his grandfather Edward I; moreover, the English court throughout this period played a full part in the chivalric cultural currents apparent in France and the Low Countries, aided by the continuing links between the house of Plantagenet and the Hainault ruling dynasty of Avesnes, fostered by Edward III's wife Philippa of Hainault.[94] Throughout her analysis Vale was keenly aware of the political benefits which chivalric culture could confer upon the monarch. She noted how Edward I associated himself with the legend and romance of King Arthur in his conquest of Wales, presenting 'Arthur's Crown', captured during his victorious campaign in 1283 at the shrine of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, and holding a Round Table at Nefyn, near Caernarfon, in 1284. She also noted that the royally sponsored tournaments of Edward III's reign often marked great events in the king's life, such as the birth of a son or daughter, or victory in a particular battle of the Hundred Years War.[95] But for Vale the greatest expression of the political value of chivalric culture came with the founding of the Order of the Garter. As she correctly notes, the composition of the original Knights of the Garter was made up of knights, barons and members of the titled nobility who had taken a prominent role in the glorious campaigns in Gascony and Calais during the *annus mirabilis* of 1346. She also contends that in limiting the membership of this elite group to twenty-six,

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[91] Ibid., ch.4.

[92] J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge, 1982).

[93] Ibid., p.1.

[94] Ibid., pp.92-4.

[95] Ibid., pp.17-9, ch. 4.

Edward had created two evenly matched tournament teams. Vale argued that; in founding the Garter,

> [Edward III's] simultaneous political achievement was two-fold: to provide a perpetual memorial to the justification of his own kingly claims [to the French throne]; and also to create a prestigious chivalric elite comprising representatives of every section of society that could aspire to inclusion – noble families and allies abroad, as well as members of his own household and family – who were characterised first and foremost by loyalty to the order's head. In the Order of the Garter Edward III created an institution which incorporated the ties and allegiances which traditionally bound the tournament team together while subsuming them in a greater loyalty to the sovereign.[96]

Like Keen and M. G. A. Vale, Juliet Vale leaves us in no doubt that chivalry was still an active force in the later Middle Ages, taken seriously by an important section of society. Moreover, the order of the Garter was not an example of the ostentatious conceit of a decadent chivalric culture, but an organisation which had serious political ambitions and consequences.

With the breakdown of the Huizinga paradigm, the time was ripe for a new synthesis for the study of chivalry. This was more than ably provided by Maurice Keen's *Chivalry* (1984). In his introduction Keen pointed to the difficulty of formulating a comprehensive definition of chivalry and shied away from providing us with a definitive statement. He offers instead a tentative description of chivalry 'for working purposes': 'Chivalry, as it is described in the treatises [which are outlined in the introduction], is a way of life in which we can discern these three essential facets, the military, the noble, and the religious; but a way of life is a complex thing, like a living organism'.[97] The conception of chivalry as an organic way of life is one of the key themes of Keen's work. Chivalry is constantly evolving, changing with altering social, economic conditions as well as with changes in military technology and tactics.

Keen's methodology is to bring together the panoply of ideas that fed and shaped the overall chivalric ideal in a period roughly from 1100 to 1500, always aware of the changes in emphasis placed on these ideas. He traces the secular origins of chivalry, focusing on the emergence of the mounted warrior as a military elite and its eventual fusion with the aristocratic, political and social elite. He then moves on to discuss the influence of religious ideas, through the church and the crusading movement, and their effect on the

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[96] Ibid., p.91.

[97] Keen, *Chivalry*, p.17. Parenthesis added.

development of the knighting ceremony. Other ideas that Keen felt shaped chivalry emerged from the rise of the tournament and the 'historical mythology of chivalry' developed in the *chanson de geste* and romance literature; he then moves on to look at the role of heraldry and heralds and ideas concerning nobility and honour. He concludes his survey with an analysis of the manifestation of chivalric ideas in the secular orders of chivalry, pageantry, tournaments, vows, and the role of chivalric ideas in war. It was in these areas that Huizinga saw evidence of the decline of chivalry in the later Middle Ages and Keen does much to redress the balance, pointing to the social and political role that pageantry, tournaments and the secular orders of chivalry fulfilled, and the continued relevance that the idea of the knight errant still had in the changing military conditions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Keen provides us with a general overview of the ideas which shaped chivalry and chivalry's manifestation in aristocratic society over a four-hundred year span; he offers us a way of looking at chivalry and a platform for other scholars of chivalry to build upon. Since the publication of *Chivalry*, the subject has been a lively topic of debate amongst historians and literary scholars. R. W. Kaeuper in particular has done much to elucidate many of the ideas broached by Keen. His critical edition of Geffroi de Charny's *Livre de Chivalrie,* translated by Elspeth Kennedy, takes a closer look at the 'manuals of chivalry' genre, placing Charny's work in context with other works such as Raul Hodenc's *Roman des Eles*, completed in the early thirteenth century, and Ramon Llull's *Libre del Ordre de Cavalyleria*, dating from the end of the thirteenth century.[98] Kaeuper also looks at the social and political context in which Charny composed his book. The *Livre* was one of three works composed by Charny in connection with the foundation of Jean II of France's Order of the Star in 1352.[99] Like Keen, Kaeuper recognised that chivalry was not merely a 'game' or an 'illusion' but that it was at the heart of Jean II's attempts to reform the governance of France as well as improve French chivalry's performance in the face of repeated defeats at the hands of the English who threatened to overrun the country. To quote Kaeuper: 'The smooth and proper running of the world . . . depended on the state of chivalry'.[100] In his book Charny saw France's failure to defeat the English not in terms of battlefield tactics, strategy, politics or economics: it was for him a failure of prowess, the

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[98] R. W. Kaeuper and E. Kennedy, *The Book of Chivalry of Geffroi de Charny: Text, Context, and Translation* (Philadelphia, 1996), pp.23-7.

[99] The other two works were a series of questions concerning chivalric practice in jousts, tournaments and war and a verse version of the *Livre*. Kaeuper and Kennedy, *Book of Chivalry*, pp.19-23.

[100] Ibid., p.48.

key value of chivalry. The only way to recover France's glory was for all those of gentle birth to take up arms. As such, Charny idolises prowess in all its forms.

Kaeuper returns to the importance of prowess to chivalric culture in *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (1999).[101] This work relies heavily on chivalric literature, exhaustively referring to the *chansons de geste*, romance literature (particularly from the Lancelot-Grail cycle), vernacular manuals of chivalry and chivalric biographies as evidence. The main focus of his study is the problem of chivalry's ambivalent attitude to, and often glorification of, violence, which this chivalric literature seems to promote. Kaeuper analyses the apparent contradictions between the excesses of violence that litter the pages of romance, with the control of violence that the clergy and royalty attempted to maintain. Kaeuper concludes that the ambivalent attitude towards violence found in chivalric literature is due to the great prominence given to the values of prowess and honour in the chivalric ethos.[102] In all cases, Kaeuper argues that prowess took precedence over all other chivalric values, and as such, his analysis brings a valuable perspective to the study of chivalry. Kaeuper also challenges the view that chivalry acted as a civilising influence on society. Both Huizinga and the sociologist Norbert Elias argued that the 'courtly' acted as a check to knightly violence with chivalry's supposed rules regulating the conduct of war, in for example, the treatment of prisoners and the granting of safe conducts, presaging the development of international law.[103] This idea is refuted by Kaeuper because of the centrality of prowess to the chivalric creed: 'the formally polite modes of behaviour seem less an intrusive check on knighthood than an expression of the knights' own high sense of worth, of rightful dominance in society; good manners were less a restraint on knightly behaviour than they were its characteristic social expression.'[104]

Kaeuper's work is suggestive of the future direction of the study of chivalry. Whereas Keen's *Chivalry* provides us with a macro-analysis of the ideas that shaped chivalry, Kaeuper provides us with a micro-analysis of the key values of chivalry. His insistence on the centrality of prowess and honour to chivalry and the potential for contradictions and tensions with other values that Keen discusses is illuminating, even if he

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[101] R. W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999).

[102] Ibid., chs. 7 and 8.

[103] Huizinga, *Waning*, pp.100-3; J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (London, 1949), p.117; N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Volume II, State Formation and Civilization*, trans. E. Jephcott (Oxford, 1982), pp.86-91; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp.8-9; R. W. Kaeuper, 'Chivalry and the 'Civilizing Process'', in R. W. Kaeuper (ed.), *Violence in Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp.21-35.

[104] Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p.206 and more generally, pp.205-8.

perhaps relied too heavily on imaginative literature, chivalric manuals and chivalric biographies, which present us with an idealised view of chivalry.

Over the last two hundred years popular and academic perceptions of chivalry have changed dramatically. In essence we can observe three general trends: the romantic approach to chivalry, the critical and sceptical approach, and the revisionist view which places chivalry as a social catalyst for aristocratic behaviour. The histories composed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries presented us with a romanticised and rather idealistic view of chivalry, where knights were generally seen as heroic and pure, epitomised in the works of Mills and Gautier. The chivalric spirit of the age had done much to encourage the youth of Europe to enlist and fight against the enemy in a just cause; the horror of the trenches and widespread revulsion at the idea of glorious combat did much to discredit chivalry in the eyes of the public.[105] It is debatable whether this popular reaction against the chivalric revival affected scholarship on the subject: after all, Huizinga's inspiration for *Herfsttij de Middeleeuwen* came to him in 1907, but it is noticeable that the post-war view of chivalry was much more sceptical. Huizinga and Kilgour forcibly questioned whether chivalry was anything more than a polite veneer to disguise the more dastardly actions of the knights. The pomp and pageantry of chivalric orders and tournaments seemed completely out of step with the harsh realities of life, just as the colour of flags and the sound of the marching band that hailed the soldiers of the First World War as they marched to battle contrasted with the horrors that awaited them. Only over the last thirty or so years has Huizinga and Kilgour's damning critique of the decline of chivalry been redressed, by scholars such as Maurice Keen and Malcolm and Juliet Vale, who have argued that the ostentatious pomp and ceremony of chivalric pageantry had both political meaning and social value. Huizinga once wrote that 'next to religion, chivalry was the strongest of the ideas that filled the hearts of those men of another age';[106] perhaps inadvertently his subtle analysis of chivalry had led to chivalry slipping into the background of historical enquiry, with many seeing the gap between chivalric ideals and real performance as being too great to overcome. It is only with the revision of Huizinga's work that chivalry has again returned to the foreground of historical inquiry. It is now recognised that chivalry had social application as well as acting as a social agency and currently the study of chivalry has flourished amongst, in particular, historians and scholars of medieval literature.

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[105] Girouard, *Return to Camelot*, ch. 18.

[106] J. Huizinga, 'Political and Military Significance', pp.196-7.

Typically, modern historians of chivalry have conceptualised it as a code, a set of values which provided a social and moral template for an elite group of aristocratic warriors. Much of the present scholarship surrounding chivalry has focused on textual source material to better understand this code. In his introduction Keen outlines the source material which he uses to formulate a model of chivalry: the courtly romances, *chansons de geste*, chivalric biographies, the writings of churchmen on the orders of society and the function of knighthood in the Christian world, and treatises by the likes of Ramon Llull and Geffroi de Charny.[107] However, this approach has not been without its problems. Individual texts place a different emphasis on the values which the chivalric code comprised, whether it be prowess, courtly manners, or the defence of the weak and the church, which may at times seem contradictory or mutually exclusive. Moreover, chivalry viewed as a code of normative behaviour still raises the vexed question for historians as to how far chivalric values affected the 'real performance' of medieval knights and esquires; a question the literary sources can only imperfectly answer.

This thesis will attempt to shed new light on the study of chivalry by considering chivalry not as a cult or a code, but as a culture which incorporated this code of behaviour. Part of the reason why historians find the concept of chivalry so difficult is that, although literary sources have been well studied, we still know relatively little about the way in which the ideas of chivalry manifested themselves in society. This thesis aims to redress the balance by taking a closer look at the type of men amongst whom we would expect chivalric culture to flourish. Using a sample group selected from the military elite of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we will ask what these men can tell us about the role of chivalry in shaping their identities and directing their actions. We are not asking what chivalry is, but rather what was the experience of chivalry amongst the militarised aristocracy of the period. In order to achieve this aim we will take an interdisciplinary approach, assessing how far the men studied in this thesis formed a distinct community within society through their career and marriage patterns. We will then go on to look at some of their cultural practices to ascertain whether they shared the same culture and if this culture can be defined as chivalric.

Research Agenda, Sources and Methodology

The two primary research questions to be asked in this thesis are: whether we can consider the members of the military elite in this period as forming a distinct community in late medieval society; and what the cultural practices of these men can tell us about chivalry. As will be discussed later in this thesis: a culture can only exist within a community or society;

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[107] Keen, *Chivalry*, pp.2-16.

thus, if we wish to understand chivalry as a culture, we first have to understand the collective identity and common interests of the community in which we would expect a chivalric culture to flourish.[108] In other words, if we wish to better understand chivalry, then we need to better understand those who were chivalrous.

Essentially we will be applying the methodology of prosopography to the study of culture. Lawrence Stone has described prosopography as 'the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors by means of a collective study of their lives.'[109] The application of this method has had a profound effect on the conduct of historical research over the last fifty years or so and has been applied to a wide range of historical studies – not least those rooted in the Middle Ages. The earliest proponent of prosopography was Charles Beard who wished to bring a new perspective to the form and drafting of the American constitution by studying the social and economic backgrounds of the 'Founding Fathers'.[110] Beard's analysis leant heavily on the economic aspect of the Founding Fathers' careers and his conclusion, that through the founding of the constitution these men attempted to protect their own class and economic interests, was perhaps a little deterministic dependent on his own research agenda.[111] However, this pioneering work blazed a trail which A. P. Newton's study of the Puritan opposition to Charles I in the 1630s and, importantly, Lewis Namier's study of the House of Commons in the early years of George III's reign would follow.[112]

Namier's *Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (1929), would prove a truly ground breaking and influential work.[113] Namier attempted to dispel a number of commonplace myths associated with George III's 'tyranny', the loss of the Thirteen Colonies and the role of party politics in the early years of George III's reign. His method was to analyse parliament through a study of the careers of each individual Member of Parliament who sat at the time of George III's accession. Through this approach Namier attempted to dismantle the Whig/constitutional view of George III's reign. For example, Namier

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[108] This idea is more fully explored in the introduction to Part II, see below, pp.138-43.

[109] L. Stone, *The Past and the Present Revisited* (London and New York, 1987), p.45.

[110] Ibid., pp.48-9; C. A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York, 1913).

[111] Stone, *Past and Present*, p.49.

[112] Ibid., pp.49-50; A. P. Newton, *The Colonising Activities of the English Puritans* (New Haven, 1914). Namier's biographer Linda Colley states that Namier was directly influenced by the prosopographical studies of the American Revolution by Charles Beard and C. W. Arnold. L. Colley, *Lewis Namier* (London, 1989), p.74.

[113] L. Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, 2nd edn. (London, 1957).

dismissed the party tags of Tory and Whig as meaningless. Instead, through analysis of the social origins and career patterns of MPs, he asserted that they could be divided into three generic types: the king's placemen, independently minded country gentry and political careerists. The traditional view of MPs following an abstract line of party politics was dismantled, to be replaced by a system of patronage networks and MPs following their own agendas and protecting their own interests.[114]

Although Namier's conclusions remain controversial and, as with Beard, have been accused of economic determinism in attributing men's motives, the potential of prosopography as a new historical analytical tool had been revealed.[115] In 1939 Ronald Syme studied the collective biographies of the Roman Senate to explain why the Roman Republic became an empire and in the 1940s K. B. McFarlane brought prosopography to the study of medieval history.[116] Whether McFarlane was directly influenced by Namier and Syme is unclear; although we do know that he purchased Namier's first two books when they were first published, in the late 1920s and early 1930s.[117] Moreover, in his major article 'Parliament and 'Bastard Feudalism'' (1944) McFarlane contrasted the bastard feudal 'affinities' with the 'connections' that Namier identified amongst the MPs of eighteenth-century parliaments.[118] Like Namier, McFarlane saw prosopography as a means of refuting the old nineteenth-century view of constitutional history. In his lectures on medieval parliaments in 1940, McFarlane claimed that it was neither 'possible or desirable to study the history of institutions apart from the activities, opinions and passions of the men who made them!'[119] Building upon this approach his famous Ford Lecture series attempted to bring a new framework for the study of the governing class which formed governmental institutions. He considered the nobility of medieval England as a collective group: questioning how this group viewed themselves and how historians should view them.[120]

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[114] C. Carpenter, 'Political and Constitutional History: Before and After McFarlane', in R. H. Britnell and A. J. Pollard, *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society* (Stroud, 1995), p.186. Colley, *Namier*, chs. 3 and 4.

[115] For Criticism of Namier, see, Colley, *Namier*, chs. 3, 4 and conclusion.

[116] R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939). For Syme's work in its prosopographical context, see, Stone, *Past and Present*, pp.49-57.

[117] K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), p.xi.

[118] K. B. McFarlane, 'Parliament and 'Bastard Feudalism'', *TRHS*, 4th ser. 26 (1944): p.71; McFarlane, *Nobility*, p.xviii; Carpenter, 'Political and Constitutional History', pp.187-9.

[119] Carpenter, 'Political and Constitutional History', p.188.

[120] Ibid., p.189; McFarlane, *Nobility*, pt. 1.

McFarlane's work was provocative, and even if he could be charged that his conclusions as to men's motives smacked of economic determinism, his approach to medieval history had many admirers and imitators. As Carpenter has commented: 'McFarlane's legacy has been a barrage of detailed studies of nobles and gentry';[121] and numerous PhD theses have, since the 1960s, been devoted to studies of individual noble families and regional gentry communities. Indeed, prosopographical inquiries have spread to a wide range of studies in medieval history. So much so, that by the 1980s enough articles were being produced using this research method to justify the publication of a journal dedicated to medieval prosopographical studies. A cursory glance at the articles submitted to *Medieval Prosopography* over the last ten years reveals the extent to which prosopography has been used in an astonishing range of historical enquires. For example, recent articles have covered such diverse social groups as monastic communities and their family ties, elites and examiners in Italian Universities, nuns from the diocese of Norwich, the family of Robert the Burgundian, the king's messengers in England, goldsmith's apprentices in London, the poachers of Pickering Forest and prostitutes of medieval Montpellier![122]

Three particular areas of prosopographical research have influenced the form and content of this thesis. The first is in the study of county communities. For some historians the study of the gentry is entirely bound up with the idea of county communities. The early modern historian Alan Everitt claimed that this was because, during his period of study, 'the England of 1640 resembled a union of partially independent county states or communities, each with its own distinct ethos and loyalty.'[123] Everitt's work spawned a series of similar

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[121] Carpenter, 'Political and Constitutional History', p.190.

[122] J. Greatrex, 'Prosopographical Perspectives, or What Can be Done with Five Thousand Monastic Biographies', *Medieval Prosopography* 20 (1999): 129-45; J. T. Rosenthal, 'The Northern Clergy: Clerical Wills and Family Ties', *Medieval Prosopography* 20 (1999): 147-59; J. Davies, 'Elites and Examiners at Italian Universities During the Middle Ages', *Medieval Prosopography* 21 (2000): 191-209; M. Oliver, 'Counting Nuns: A Prosopography of Late Medieval English Nuns in the Diocese of Norwich', *Medieval Prosopography* 16, no.1 (1995): 27-55; W. Scott Jesse, 'The Family of Robert the Burgundian and the Creation of the Angevin March of Sablé and Craon' *Medieval Prosopography* 16, no.2 (1995): 31-67; M. C. Hill, 'The King's Messengers in England, 1199-1377', *Medieval Prosopography* 17, no.2 (1996): 63-96; S. R. Houland, 'Apprenticeships in the Records of the Goldsmiths' Company of London, 1440-1500', *Medieval Prosopography* 22 (2001): 89-114; D. Rivard, 'The Poachers of Pickering Forest, 1282-1338', *Medieval Prosopography* 17, no.2 (1996): 97-144; K. L. Rogerson, 'Prostitution in Medieval Montpellier: The Ladies of Campus Polverel', *Medieval Prosopography* 18 (1997): 209-28.

[123] A. Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60* (Leicester, 1966), p.13; C. Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', *Journal of British Studies* 33 (1994), p.341.

studies in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century gentry based in individual counties.[124] Throughout the 1980s and 1990s a rash of works on the county gentry in the late medieval period was published.[125] The purpose of many of these monographs was to trace the emergence and progress of the gentry in a particular county and also note their relationships with the crown, regional magnates and other members of the county gentry. In answering these questions many county community scholars turned to similar areas of study: the importance of kinship networks, land-holding patterns, royal office-holding, the maintenance of justice in the shires, the role of the shire court, retaining links with magnates, and the role of military service in creating collective identities. Nigel Saul's study of the Gloucestershire gentry in the late thirteenth and fourteenth century provides an especially good example of this type of study.[126] He analysed the importance of military service in the careers of the gentry; the relationship between the local gentry and regional magnates through retaining ties; the relationship between crown governance and the localities through royal office-holding and the effect that this had on gentry identity; the role of the gentry in maintaining social order in the shire; and the income and landholding patterns of the gentry in Gloucestershire. Through this approach he concluded that the Gloucestershire gentry were a fairly self-contained group with few interests beyond their region which strengthened their collective identity as a county community.[127]

The study of the personnel of the royal household has followed in a similar vein to the study of county communities. The work of R. L. Ingamells, Caroline Shenton and Chris Given-Wilson provide good examples of the application of prosopographical techniques to

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[124] Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p.341, n.3. For the value of gentry studies to the study of the English Civil War, see J. Morill, *The Nature of the English Revolution* (London, and New York, 1993), chs. 8 and 9.

[125] See for example, K. S. Naughton, *The Gentry of Bedfordshire in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Leicester, 1976); N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981); M. J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983); S. M. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century*, Derbyshire Record Society 8 (1983); S. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991); C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992); E. Acheson, *A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, c.1442-c.1485* (Cambridge, 1992).

[126] Saul noted in his preface that medievalists did not have the same number of studies of county society to draw upon; and that the numerous monographs on the subject by early modernists: 'have told us so much about the attitudes and organization of the provincial governing class in a later period.' In this light, Saul's book should be seen as an early attempt to redress the balance. Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.v.

[127] Ibid., pp.257-9.

the study of the royal household during the period covered by my own thesis.[128] All three scholars have elucidated the structure of the royal household in the reigns of Edward I, Edward III and Richard II through a study of its personnel, and have variously charted the careers of members of the military household in military service, politics, royal office-holding in the localities, diplomacy, royal council and the dispensation of patronage amongst the household. Shenton and Given-Wilson have also studied the court culture of Edward III's household. The other area of study that has affected the form of this thesis is the study of what Andrew Ayton calls 'military service prosopography'.[129] By tracing the careers of members of the military community in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, both Ayton and Anne Curry have brought a greater degree of understanding to a wide range of military topics, from the size, structure and battle-effectiveness of English armies during this period, to the militaristic mentality of the aristocracy in the late Middle Ages.[130]

Over the last fifty years prosopography has greatly enhanced our knowledge of the conduct and career patterns of the aristocracy in late medieval England. One area in which prosopography has not been extensively used is in the study of aristocratic culture. If prosopography can reveal much about the structure and conduct of English armies, the role of local gentry in local administration or in the conduct of the royal household, then surely it can also be used to further understand chivalry as the predominant culture of the aristocracy in the later Middle Ages. This thesis intends to take an interdisciplinary approach to prosopography looking not only at the collective career patterns of a sample of the military elite in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but also their cultural practices and the visual culture that these men have left to posterity.

As Lawrence Stone has pointed out: the first task in any prosopographical study is to 'establish a universe to be studied'.[131] The 'universe' chosen for this particular study is a sample of medieval military elites from Edward I's campaign in Dumfries and Galloway in

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[128] R. L. Ingamells, 'The Household Knights of Edward I' Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Durham (1992); C. Shenton, 'The English Court and the Restoration of Royal Prestige, 1327-1345', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Oxford (1995); C. Given-Wilson, 'The Court and Household of Edward III 1360-1377', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of St. Andrews (1976); C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (New Haven and London, 1986).

[129] Ayton, 'English Army at Crécy', p.160.

[130] This is best illustrated in A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy Under Edward III*, paperback edition (Woodbridge, 1999); Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, especially chs. 5 and 6; A. Ayton, 'English Armies in the Fourteenth Century' in A. Curry and M. Hughes (eds.), *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp.21-38; A. Curry, 'English Armies in the Fifteenth Century', Curry and Hughes (eds.), *Arms Armies and Fortifications*, pp.39-68; A. Curry, *Agincourt, A New History* (Stroud, 2005), ch. 3.

[131] Stone, *Past and Present*, p.45.

1300 and Edward III's campaign in France in 1359-60. The active careers of these men, stretching from the later thirteenth century to the end of the fourteenth century appears to provide fertile ground for the study of chivalry. The 1290s to the 1360s was a period of almost constant warfare, with Edward I and Edward III in particular, launching regular campaigns in Scotland and the continent. The manpower requirements of this constant campaigning inevitably drew the aristocracy into giving increased military service, which, one would expect, gave greater prominence to the mores and values of chivalry.

The names of the men of the two samples have been drawn from two different types of document associated with the 1300 and 1359-60 campaigns. The first sample group comprises the 101 earls, barons, bannerets and knights whose arms are listed in the heraldic poem the *Song of Caerlaverock.*[132] Although Edward I, Edward of Caernarfon and Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham also appear in the poem, their respective positions as monarch, heir to the throne and bishop meant that their career patterns were atypical of the rest of those mentioned in the poem, and they have thus not been included in the sample group. The *Song of Caerlaverock* is an unusual example of an occasional roll, which mentions the most prominent men in each division or 'battle' in the army arrayed at the siege of Caerlaverock in Dumfriesshire during Edward I's campaign in the west of Scotland during the summer of 1300. The arms of each combatant are described in verse along with a short laudatory rhyme relating the merits of each man. Noel Denholm-Young has suggested that the poem was composed for Henry Percy, who is presented in the text in glowing terms, but his evidence is no more than circumstantial and thus the provenance of this text must remain a mystery.[133] Nonetheless, it is a useful source for identifying the most prominent members of Edward I's army in 1300, as many aristocrats during this period provided military service for themselves and their retinue at their own expense and thus do not appear in many of the official sources, such as the wardrobe accounts.[134]

The second sample group comprises the military captains present on Edward III's French campaign in 1359-60. Methods of recruitment had altered dramatically in the sixty

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[132] Printed versions of the *Song of Caerlaverock* can be found in N.H. Nicolas, *The Siege of Caerlaverock* (London, 1828); T. Wright, *The Roll of Arms of the Princes, Barons, and Knights who Attended King Edward I, to the Siege of Caerlaverock, in 1300* . . . (London, 1864); G. J. Brault, *The Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, 2 vols. (Woodbridge, 1997), 1: 434-443.

[133] N. Denholm-Young, 'The Song of Caerlaverock and the Parliamentary Roll of Arms as Found in Cott. MS. Calig. A. XVIII in the British Museum', in N. Denholm-Young, *Collected Papers of Noel Denholm-Young* (Cardiff, 1969), p.125. For the methods of composition and the provenance of this text see also: A. R. Wagner, *Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms*, Aspilogia I (Oxford, 1950), p.29; G. J. Brault, 'Heraldic Terminology and Legendary Material in the *Siege of Caerlaverock* (c.1300)', *Romance Studies in Memory of Edward Billings Ham*, ed. U. T. Holmes (Berkeley, California, 1967), pp.5-20.

[134] See below, p.48, n.11.

years since Edward I's campaign in Dumfriesshire and Galloway and all those who served in 1359-60 were directly in receipt of wages from the crown. No similar source to the *Song of Caerlaverock* exists for this campaign and so the composition of this group is drawn from the list of retinue captains who were in receipt of wages at the end of the campaign. A full *vadia guerre* account survives for this campaign in the Wardrobe book of William Farley and the sample selected from the captains on this campaign has been drawn from those who received *restauro equorum*, or compensation for horses lost on that campaign.[135] This produces a list of around 160 names and this number was then further reduced by omitting the clerks in receipt of *restauro equorum*, leaving a total of 94 men.

In the first part of this thesis we will assess the extent that the members of these two samples formed a distinct community within late medieval society. The sources used to identify the members of these samples have produced slightly different groups in terms of rank and status. The author of the *Song of Caerlaverock* attempted to name all the bannerets present at the siege of Caerlaverock; he also named a number of knights who had distinguished themselves in battle during that siege. Therefore, all of the men from the 1300 sample are of knightly rank or above. The *restauro equorum* account for the 1359-60 campaign, however, includes a wider cross section of the military community, with a large numbers of esquires (many of whom carried out their military service as part of the royal household) included alongside knights, bannerets and the titled nobility also present on this campaign. This allows us to contrast different elements of the military community in this period: we can both judge changes over time between the two samples, and contrast similarities and differences between men with different ranks and social status within this group. However, we will also be assessing the extent to which the shared career patterns (and later in Part II the shared cultural practices) of these men helped to form a definable community regardless of rank.

Chapter 1 will concentrate on the idea that these men formed a community through their shared experience of military service. Administrative records, such as the *vadia guerre* accounts found in published and unpublished wardrobe books;[136] letters of protection and

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[135] E101/393/11, fos 79r-116v. For more on the history *restauro equorum* and its value to the historian of military history see: Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, chs. 3 and 4.

[136] The classifications of the financial records related to the payment of wages to individual captains on the campaigns included in this thesis and stored in The National Archives are as follows: king's remembrancer, accounts various (E101); treasury of receipt books (E36); exchequer of receipt, issue rolls (E403); wardrobe books are found in a variety of locations, the ones used in this thesis can be found in The National Archives E36/204, E101/393/11, and the British Library, Add. M .S. 8835 and the wardrobe book of William Norwell covering the period 1338 to 1340 which is available in print, M. Lyon, B. Lyon, H.S. Lucas and J. de Sturler (eds.), *The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell* (Brussels, 1983). For a further discussion of the sources used to reconstruct military service given by the men of our sample, see below, pp.47-52.

attorney enrolled in the chancery rolls;[137] evidence from occasional heraldic rolls which commemorated the arms of particular members of the military community present on campaign;[138] and sundry reference to participation on various campaigns in printed collections of various administrative records,[139] have been used to reconstruct the participation rates of members of our sample on various selected campaigns. We will assess whether these men formed a community through their shared careers in military service, the ties which were forged through this service and the collective identity that military service engendered in this group. As part of this study we will be looking at whether military service could bring together men whose land-holding interests were spread across England. In order to achieve this we will be using evidence of landholdings in the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* and evidence of men holding important offices such as sheriff and escheator and in serving as MPs in a particular county, to create maps of the samples' geographical spread.[140]

Chapter 2 will assess the role that membership of political institutions such as the king's council and parliament, and the holding of judicial and administrative commissions played in forging a political community amongst these men. Again this will be predominantly a quantitative survey. Membership of the council amongst our sample has been identified through the utilisation of royal charter witness lists for the reigns of Edward I, Edward II, Edward III and Richard II, which are all now available in print.[141] Those

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[137] A number of exerts of letters of protection and attorney on the campaigns covered in this thesis have appeared in print, see for example: H. Gough, ed., *Scotland in 1298: Documents Relating to the Campaign of Edward I in that Year* (London, 1888); J. Bain, ed., *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, 4 vols., (London, 1881-88) [henceforth recorded as *CDS*]; J. Ferguson, ed., *Treaty Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, vol., 2, 1337-1339 (London, 1972); G. Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais from the Public Records* (London, 1898).

[138] This is a particularly useful source for identifying military service amongst the members of the 1300 sample. Occasional rolls included the arms of a selection of cavalrymen present at Falkirk (1298); the *Song of Caerlaverock* can also be considered as an unusual example of an occasional roll for the 1300 campaign, which is supplemented by the Galloway roll; and there is also a list of the vanguard of the cavalry who scattered the Scottish forces at the siege of Stirling at the end of the 1303-4 Scottish campaign. All of these rolls can be found together in print in, Brault, *Rolls of Arms*, pp.406-17, 434-43, 447-68, 485-93. For further analysis and the locations of these rolls see, A. R. Wagner, *Catalogue,* pp.27-36.

[139] The most prominent of these have already been mentioned: Gough, *Scotland in 1298*, *CDS* and Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*.

[140] This information was collated using, *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*, PRO Lists and Indexes, 9, reprinted with amendments, (1963); *List of Escheators for England and Wales,* List and Index Society, 72 (London, 1971); *Return of the Name of Every Member of the Lower House of Parliament . . . 1213-1874,* 2 vols., Parliamentary Papers (1878).

[141] R. Huscroft, *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I (1272-1307)*, List and Index Society, 279 (2000); J. S. Hamilton, 'Charter Witness Lists for the Reign of Edward II', *Fourteenth Century*

members of our sample who either received an individual summons to parliament or were elected as Knights of the Shire have also been ascertained using printed primary sources.[142] Evidence for royal office-holding in the localities by the members of our sample has been drawn from the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* over the period stretching between 1272 and 1399. As in Chapter 1, we are looking for the extent to which the idea that these men forming a community was strengthened through collective activity in political, judicial and administrative office-holding and what effect this had on creating a corporate identity amongst them.

Chapter 3 moves on to consider the effect that marriage ties had on strengthening or weakening the idea of community. Part of this study is quantitative: we will be assessing the general marriage patterns of the members of our sample, deduced from a number of printed biographical sources;[143] but this survey of marriage alliances will also be qualitative. We will look at how marriages were proclaimed through the use of heraldry in decoration and, in particular, the use of heraldry on seals. We will also be looking at the motives behind the selection of marriage partners for members of our community through a case study of the marriage alliances forged by Roger Mortimer, the first Earl of March through the marriages of his daughters. The focus of this chapter is both to ascertain whether the marriages of the members of our sample were endogamous, and whether this endogamy was spurred by the collective interests of the community which needed to be maintained through marriage.

The second part of this thesis goes beyond the normal limits of prosopography. Instead of merely studying collective career patterns, we wish to understand the collective culture of the community outlined in the first half of this thesis. In Chapter 4 we will be searching for evidence of chivalric culture amongst the members of the sample in textual sources. This evidence will be approached in two distinct ways. Firstly we will look at what contemporary medieval chronicles can tell us about the attitudes of the members of our two

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England I, ed. N. Saul (Woodbridge, 2000), pp.1-20; J. S. Hamilton *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I (1307-1326) from the Charter Rolls in the Public Record Office*, List and Index Society, 288 (2001); C. Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter Witness Lists', *Medieval Prosopography* 12 (1991): 35-93.

[142] This information can be found in, F. Palgrave (ed.), *Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons*, 2 vols. in 4 pts. (London, 1827-34); *Report from the Lord's Committees . . . for all Matters Touching the Dignity of a Peer*, 5 vols. (London, 1820-2); *Return of the Name of Every Member of the Lower House.*

[143] For example, *GEC*; H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, (eds.) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: in Association with the British Academy: from the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, 60 vols. (Oxford, 2004); C. Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, 5 vols. Publications of the Harleian Society, 80-84, (London, 1929-32). Sundry information can also be found in the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*; the *Victoria County History* series; the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*; *Calendar of Close Rolls*; and *Calendar of Fine Rolls.*

samples to an important value of chivalry: namely prowess. We will be looking for changes in the conduct of warfare between the members of our samples and assessing what effect the decline of the great warhorse in battle had on the cultural practices of our men as it is presented in the chronicles. Secondly, we will be analysing the discourse between the cultural practices of the community and chivalric literature. We will explore ownership of romances amongst the members of our sample and also assess the role that the legends of chivalry presented in romance literature played in forging individual and family identities. The evidence for the linkage between individuals and the heroes of romance can be found in a range of media, including *objets d'art*, seals, sepulchral monuments and architecture. The evidence of chivalric culture amongst the sample in textual sources is dependent on what chroniclers decided to include in their histories and the connection between family identities and the heroes of romance literature is dependent on survival. Therefore, it is impossible to repeat the quantitative approach to prosopography displayed in the first part of the thesis, and we are instead reliant on illustrative exemplars.

This is also the case in Chapter 5 which explores the visual culture of chivalry. The main aim of this chapter is to unearth evidence of chivalric culture amongst the members of our sample through a study of their sepulchral monuments and the use of heraldry in religious buildings. We will consider what the form of military effigies and brasses can tell us about the importance of the martial image amongst these men. The interrelationship between the positioning of sepulchral monuments and the use of space within religious buildings is also a key component of this analysis – as is the meaning of heraldry displayed on the tombs of the members of our sample. The application of heraldry on sepulchral monuments will also be compared to the use of heraldry in other media, whether it be in stained glass or carvings in architectural features. Again this evidence is dependent on survival so the analysis will be based on exemplary case studies.

Many of the existing studies of chivalry focus on textual evidence: chivalric manuals, laudatory biographies of chivalric heroes, romance literature, chivalric chronicles and the writings of churchmen on social orders. In this thesis we wish to approach the study of chivalry from a different direction by investigating chivalry from the standpoint of the men who formed and experienced chivalric culture. The sample groups from the 1300 and 1359-60 campaigns are intended to provide us with a snapshot of the English military elite at two points in the fourteenth century. It is through an holistic approach to the study of these men's careers and cultural practices, that we hope to better understand the nature of chivalric culture in late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England and look for changes in how cultural values were expressed over this time.

Part I

The Military Elite as Community

Introduction to Part I:
The Concept of Community

The principal objective of this thesis is to consider chivalry as the predominant culture amongst a sample group of the late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century military elite. One approach to the study of this culture would be to analyse the extent to which the members of our sample formed a community, distinct from other groupings within medieval society: as it is only through social interaction within groupings such as communities that culture can be fostered and shaped. For as the political anthropologist Anthony Cohen makes explicit: 'Community ... is where one learns and continues to practice how to 'be social' ... we could say that it is where one acquires culture'.[1] The first part of this thesis will consider the case for the existence of a community in which a chivalric culture flourished. The part that military service, judicial and administrative serve, participation in the politics of the realm, and the role of social and marital links amongst the members of our sample, will be of particular interest in establishing how we are to define and delimit this community. However, before discussing these individual topics, it would be prudent to clarify how the concept of community is to be used throughout the first part of this thesis.

In conceptualising late medieval society, the idea of the three estates or orders has proved a popular paradigm.[2] The simple maxim that society was divided into those who prayed, those who fought and those who worked was a common theory amongst many medieval writers. A variant of this theme can also be found in the idea of the body politic as expressed by John of Salisbury in the twelfth century.[3] In recognising that the interrelation and stratification of society was more complex than a simple tripartite division, Salisbury saw each order of society acting as if the component parts of the human body. In this analogy the priesthood is the soul, the prince the head, the lawyers the eyes, the warriors the armed hands and so on. Whether expressed as a tripartite division or in terms of the

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[1] A.P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (Chichester and London, 1985).

[2] The classic work describing the development and use of the three orders paradigm in the Middle Ages is Duby's, *The Three Orders*. See also, M. Keen, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages 1348-1500* (Harmondsworth, 1990), pp.1-5. For the use of the three orders as a tool for identifying social stratification in the pre-industrial period see, R. Mousnier, *Social Hierarchies, 1450 to the Present* (London, 1973); S. H. Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages: Class, Status and Gender* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp.181-86; G. Fourquin, *Lordship and Feudalism in the Middle Ages*, trans. I. Lytton Sells and A. L. Lytton Sells (London, 1976), pp.77-78; G. Fourquin, *The Anatomy of Popular Rebellion in the Later Middle Ages*, trans., A. Chesters (Amsterdam, 1978), pp36-48; P. Crone, *Pre-Industrial Societies* (Oxford, 1989), ch. 6.

[3] M. Keen, *English Society*, p.4; Crone, *Pre-Industrial Societies*, pp.99-101.

component parts of a human body, the common element in both these frameworks is an emphasis on strict hierarchy based on function.

Prima facie this concept would appear useful for the purpose of identifying the group in which a chivalric culture may have flourished in medieval society. This conception of society specifically points us towards an order whose *raison d'être* is the pursuit of arms in order to protect the other orders of society.[4] Moreover, the second order of society, the *bellatores* to which the men of our sample belonged, was often described as the order of chivalry and instructional treatises such as Ramon Llull's *Libre del ordre de cavalayria* give expression to the idea that this order was a relatively contained group with its own ideology, code of conduct and ceremonies.[5] However, the idea of medieval society being divided into orders has not gone without its modern day critics. It has been argued that the idea of the three orders was no more than an 'ideal vision' of 'how a society should be rather than how it was'.[6] Indeed it is clear that within each order inequalities in both wealth and status created layers of horizontal divisions rather than the simple vertical divisions of the three orders. This is clearly demonstrated in the graduated poll tax of 1379, which took account of 'both the wealth and degree of those liable'.[7] Within the second order the two dukes John of Lancaster and John of Brittany were charged 10 marks, next came the earls charged £4, followed by the barons and bannerets at 40s. and at the bottom were the landless esquires who were liable to 3s. and 4d. The poll tax of 1379 also showed how wealth and status were more important than function in determining one's rank in society, as the archbishops of Canterbury and York were ranked alongside the dukes of Lancaster and Brittany in the 10 marks bracket. Similarly the bishops were ranked alongside the earls at £4, and so the formula followed right down to the 4d. band which included labourers and unbeneficed clergy.[8] Furthermore, the idea of functional orders does not take account of individuals who performed more than one 'function'. For example, Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham during the reign of Edward I, would superficially be classed in the order of 'those who prayed'; although his role in governmental administration and as a military captain in the wars in

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[4] M. Keen, *Chivalry*, pp.4-5.

[5] Ramon Lull, trans. William Caxton, *The Book of the Order of Chyvalry*, ed. A.T.P. Byles *EETS* 168 (London, 1926).

[6] Keen, *English Society*, p.3; S.H. Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 1995), p.185; S. H. Rigby, 'Approaches to Pre-Industrial Social Structure', in J. Denton (ed.), *Orders and Hierarchies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp.11-2; P. Burke, 'The Language of Orders in Early Modern Europe', in M. L. Bush (ed.), *Social Orders and Social Classes in Europe Since 1500: Studies in Social Stratification* (Harlow, 1992), p.9.

[7] Keen, *English Society*, p.9.

[8] Rigby, *English Society*, pp.191-95.

Scotland during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, seem to be more closely related to the functions associated with the *bellatores*.

If the idea of functional orders as a way of perceiving medieval society is problematic, then the idea of class fares little better. At best the term class can be used to loosely identify an amorphous group of people, such as a knightly class, a merchant class or a peasant class. But 'class' is an emotive word which implies a more precise technical description of social structure related to the Marxist view of a society shaped by inequalities stemming from access to the modes of economic production.[9] Perceived through the Marxist prism, social relations are defined by binary oppositions, such as landowner and landless, employer and employee, exploiter and exploited.[10] This vision of class raises many of the same problems as perceiving medieval societies as functional orders. Firstly, we are no clearer in observing differences between individuals within one particular class. Long ago Max Weber pointed out that the term class was too much a catchall phrase. He contended, for example, that the proletariat would include 'among its ranks, lawyers and coalminers, doctors and dustmen, managers and truck drivers' none of which groups owned the means of production and yet widely differing in their respective wealth, social esteem and lifestyle.[11] In this context it must be asked whether opposition to another social or economic class is sufficient grounds for group solidarity.

Moreover, the idea of class tends to ignore the role of status in assigning social hierarchy and access to wealth or the means of production. As Patricia Crone notes, status groups in pre-industrial societies 'owed their wealth to their position in the hierarchy, not the other way round, at least in theory'.[12] This idea can be observed in late medieval England, where promotion to a superior rank by the king was often followed by a grant of lands, rents or money to be claimed from the exchequer in lieu. When Edward III created six new earls in the parliament of 1337, the earls of Huntingdon, Salisbury and Suffolk were promised 1,000 marks and the earl of Northampton £1,000 worth of lands or rents *per annum*.[13] It

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[9] The affect of Marxist doctrine on the study of history is clearly a large topic and can only be addressed in the briefest terms here. The works of S. H. Rigby provide an introduction to the subject, with particular reference to the role of Marxism on medieval historiography. See, Rigby, *English Society*, *passim*; S. H. Rigby, *Marxism and History: A Critical Introduction* (Manchester, 1987). Criticisms of the Marxist approach to social stratification can be found in Rigby, 'Approaches', pp.6-8; Mousnier, *Social Hierarchies*, ch. 3; Crone, *Pre-Industrial Societies*, pp.101-4; M. Reddy, 'The Concept of Class', in M. L. Bush (ed.), *Social Orders and Social Classes in Europe Since 1500: Studies in Social Stratification* (Harlow, 1992), pp.13-25.

[10] Rigby, 'Approaches', pp.6-7; Rigby, *English Society*, pp.1-6, 17.

[11] F. Parkin, *Max Weber* (London and New York, 1982), p.94.

[12] P. Crone, *Pre-Industrial Societies*, p.102.

[13] C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Middle Ages: The Fourteenth-Century Political Community*, (London and New York, 1987), p.37-40.

seems that at this time the crown considered that an earl should possess an income of at least £1,000 *per annum* in order to maintain the 'dignity' of that position. These men owed their social advancement to their personal affinity with the king rather than their landed wealth, so it was necessary for the crown to make good the shortfall between their personal incomes and the income expected of an earl.[14] This practice was not restricted to promotion to the titled nobility. When Michael Poynings was raised to the rank of banneret he received an annuity of 200 marks for life, and another member of the 1359-60 sample, Reginald Cobham, received a similar annuity of 400 marks when he was made a banneret in 1335. It is noted in both these grants that they were issued for their 'better maintenance in the estate of banneret'.[15] In the first place, earls and bannerets were military ranks, and it could be argued that that these men required a minimum income in order to provide the crown with increased quotas of troops in times of war. But in medieval England it was also important for an individual to display his position in society; by, for example, travelling round the countryside with a large retinue, wearing fine jewellery and clothing and showing ostentatious largess. The importance of the visual element of rank is demonstrated in the sumptuary laws of 1363, which aimed to legislate against 'the outrageous and excessive apparel of divers people, against their estate and degree'.[16] It was obviously felt that if individuals of low status began to wear similar clothing to their social superiors that the clear dividing lines between different ranks would become blurred threatening the entire social order.

Dissatisfaction with both the idea of functional orders and Marxist class theory has lead to some social theorists, such as Parkin and Rigby, to adopt the neo-Weberian theory of social closure as the predominant form of social organisation. In *Economy and Society* Weber postulated that during the competition for economic resources certain 'interest groups' are formed which attempt to exclude 'outsiders' on the grounds of certain characteristics: for example, race, religion, language or descent. The members of this interest group then try to monopolise resources by enforcing 'the closure of social and economic opportunities to outsiders'.[17] Rather than referring to groups that effect social

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[14] Of the two other committal creations in 1337, the Earl of Derby received a cash annuity of 1,000 marks from royal customs which was to continue until the death of his father when he would inherit the earldom of Lancaster and Hugh Audley, Earl of Gloucester, was already a rich man in his own right having married one of the heiresses of the great Clare estates. As the younger son of the earl of Hereford, Northampton had little income of his own and thus received the largest grant. Given-Wilson, *English Nobility*, p.37.

[15] *CPR*, 1345-8, p.268 (Poynings); *CPR*, 1334-8, p.346 (Cobham).

[16] *Statutes of the Realm, from the Magna Carta to the End of the Reign of Queen Anne,* 11 vols., Kraus repr. (London, 1963), 1: 380, c.8; Keen, *English Society*, p.10.

[17] Quotations from *Economy and Society* taken from, Rigby, 'Approaches', pp.12-3; See also Parkin, *Max Weber*, pp.100-1.

closure as classes, W. G. Runciman has coined the rather ungainly phrase *systacts*, which refers to 'groups or categories of persons sharing a common endowment (or lack) of power by virtue of their roles' and have a collective interest in maintaining their social, political, economic or coercive power.[18] Thus, a group that is able to effect social closure, or a group that suffers from its exclusion can be referred to as a systact. Parkin states that 'the most effective and complete forms of social closure are those which employ criteria of descent and lineage',[19] and thus the members of our sample could be considered as a prime example of a systact: a closed social group based on their aristocratic descent who attempted to maintain their monopoly of political, economic and military power, by excluding those who were not of noble birth. Indeed we can take the example of the sumptary laws of 1363 and the limiting of heraldic arms to those families who had achieved the rank of knighthood as examples of social closure: as symbols of nobility were limited to a hereditary systact.

The idea of social closure is a useful corrective to the view of social hierarchy based on economic classes or functional orders. As Rigby asserts, medieval English social structure can be seen in terms 'of an aggregate of intersecting forms of social exclusion, including those based on membership of classes, orders, status-groups and genders.'[20] Thus making it a flexible analytical tool. It certainly provides a different perspective for investigation of individual historical phenomena such as the causes of the Peasants' Revolt.[21] However, social closure theory is not incompatible with the idea of community. Essentially systacts are a form of community. An important aspect of community is its oppositional character. Communities can be defined in relation to other groups: solidarities can be formed as much as from knowing what you are not as from knowing what it is that binds you together. Social closure theory concentrates primarily on this boundary between communities, focusing on what it is that divides one community (or systact) from another. But not all communities are necessarily oppositional in character; solidarities can also be created through collective activities and shared identity. Thus, it could be argued that community provides a much more flexible term than systact. Nonetheless, the idea of community has come under periodic attack from scholars of both the social sciences and history, so before we can state what is understood by the term community, it is necessary to look at some of the reasons why the term has proved controversial.

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[18] W. G. Runciman, *A Treatise on Social Theory*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1989). Quotation from 2: 12, for more on the definition of systacts see, 2: 2-3, 12-17, 20-24; Rigby, 'Approaches', pp.17-8.

[19] Parkin, *Max Weber*, p.100.

[20] Rigby, *English Society*, p.324.

[21] Ibid., pp.110-23.

The idea of community is common currency in our understanding and conceptualisation of society. The idea of 'belonging' to a community is one of the ways that we define our own identities. As Susan Reynolds discusses: 'Community is a fashionable word nowadays. Almost any class or category of people is sometimes called a community.'[22] The reason for this popularity may be because, as Anthony Cohen notes: 'Community is one of those words – like 'culture', 'myth', 'ritual', 'symbol' – bandied around in ordinary speech, apparently readily intelligible to speaker and listener'.[23] As such, it is perhaps not surprising that medieval historians have latched onto the concept and that there has been, as Miri Rubin comments, a 'veritable explosion of studies incorporating community into their titles'.[24] However, the use of the word community in many of these studies has come under attack. In the second edition to *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900-1300* Susan Reynolds expressed regret in using the term communities which 'has become virtually meaningless'.[25] Moreover Christine Carpenter goes as far as stating that 'community' should be banned from all academic writing.[26] Much of this dissatisfaction has grown from the difficulties in defining the concept amongst social scientists, which has led to subsequent misuse of the term. As will be argued below the idea of community is neither meaningless nor impractical as an analytical tool. But first we need to address the terminological problems that 'community' has caused.

Most damaging for the cause of 'community' as an analytical tool is the failure of social scientists to agree on its definition. In 1955 G. A. Hillary reviewed 94 definitions of the term 'community' and concluded that 'beyond the concept that people are involved in community there is no complete agreement to the nature of community'.[27] Part of the reason for this apparent lack of precise codification, stems from the work of nineteenth-century sociologists who first developed comprehensive theories of community. Much of their interest in the concept evolved from the belief that the Industrial Revolution had brought profound changes to the structure of society. One of the great pioneers of this new community theory was Ferdinand Tönnies. In his book *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft* (1887), Tonnies propounded the view that *Gemeinschaft* (loosely translated as community)

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[22] S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900-1300*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1997), p.1.

[23] A.P. Cohen, *Symbolic Construction*, p.11.

[24] M. Rubin, 'Small Groups: Identity and Solidarity in the Late Middle Ages', in J. Kermode (ed.), *Enterprise and Individuals in Fifteenth-Century England* (Stroud, 1991), p.133.

[25] S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, p.xi.

[26] Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p.340.

[27]Quoted from V.W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (London, 1969), p.126.

was based on intimate contact between individuals with an emphasis on kinship, neighbourhood and friendship, along with an emotional attachment to the land.[28] Tönnies believed that *Gemeinschaft* was the dominant social structure in pre-industrial society where groups were formed around the household, village, town and commonwealth (which Tönnies described as a region incorporating estates, villages and towns, rather than the more usual medieval use of the term commonwealth as equating with a kingdom) and was characterised by a lack of geographical mobility.[29] This lack of mobility created close links between members of the locality, producing an homogenous culture and strong moral values based on the church and the family.[30] The theory goes that by the nineteenth century the breakdown of the agrarian life style and an increase in social and geographical mobility had lead to a break with *Gemeinschaft* and a new type of social relation pre-dominated, that of *Gesellschaft* or association. *Gesellschaft* is the polar opposite of *Gemeinschaft* where the dominant relations are 'isolation, separation, exclusion and contract'.[31]

Clearly this is a simplified thesis which owes much to dissatisfaction with capitalism and its individualistic ethos. However, the concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* have cast a long shadow over the idea of community in two ways. Firstly it brought an emotive tone to the word community. In this sense communities are 'a good thing': characterised by close interpersonal relations and a common purpose. It also created a feeling that some how community has been 'lost' in our urbanised, industrialised society. This idea of 'lost community' has been picked up by communitarians such as Alisdar McIntyre, Michael Sandal and Charles Taylor.[32] Highly critical of political individualism and liberalism, these sociologists urged a return to the values of social cohesion and solidarity which they believed existed during certain periods of history, notably in Classical Athens, during the founding period of America and the Middle Ages: McIntyre has described the medieval kingdom as a community in which men 'in company pursue *the* human good'.[33] The emotive element these scholars brought to the term community has certainly muddied the

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[28] F. Tönnies, *Community and Society*, trans., C. P. Loomis (East Lansing, Michigan, 1957). Many of these ideas were expanded upon with particular reference to the existence of community in medieval society in F. Tönnies, *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology*, trans., C. P. Loomis (New York, 1940).

[29] Tönnies' ideas are usefully outlined and analysed by Derek Phillips in, D.L Phillips, *Looking Backward: A Critical Appraisal of Communitarian Thought* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1993), ch. 4.

[30] C.Bell and H. Newby, *Community Studies: An Introduction to the Sociology of the Local Community* (London, 1971), pp.23-27.

[31] Phillips, *Looking Backward*, p.82.

[32] Ibid., ch. 1.

[33] Ibid., pp.1-6, p.81.

waters, and the medieval historian would surely find the idea that the medieval period was a time of social cohesion, solidarity and the search for a 'common good' largely erroneous.[34]

A second problem with the view of community born of nineteenth-century social theories is the undue emphasis on locale. Although locale is often seen as an important part of our understanding of community, Jessie Bernard has stated that it actually forms a 'separate though related' conception of community.[35] Bernard distinguishes between two different conceptions of community: 'the community' in which *locale* is the basic component and 'community' which 'emphasises common ties and social interaction'.[36] Most of the historical works which have incorporated the word community into their title have concentrated on the interpretation of community dependent on locale. Many historians of county communities have used the locale, the county, as a starting point and built a community around it. But as Carpenter has pointed out most of these 'county studies' have focused on the elite, the leading gentry of the society, and that the gentry's mental world was not constrained to one locale or county. As she rightly asserts: 'substantial gentry families would have connections not only within the county but also outside as well.'[37] It was, for example, just as likely that a member of the gentry would marry someone from outside his county as it was for them to marry into a local family. Marriage was based more on status and mutual benefits than on locality alone.[38] Moreover, members of the gentry may have owned lands across several counties and this was even more pronounced amongst the nobility. It is thus problematic to assign individual members of gentry society to individual counties.[39]

As we have noted, the main problem associated with the use of the term community stem from the difficulty in finding a universal definition. As the idea of community is subjective (different people within a community have different ideas of what it means to be part of that community), the hope of a catchall definition is unlikely. Instead, following the advice of Anthony Cohen we should 'seek, not a lexical meaning, but *use*' for the term. Again following Cohen, at there most basic level communities are a group of people, who '(a) have something in common with each other, which (b) distinguishes them in a

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[34] Phillips provides a critical assessment of communitarian views of the Middle Ages in ibid. ch. 5; although one might take issue with his own interpretation of Medieval society.

[35] J. Bernard, *The Sociology of Community* (London, 1973), p.1.

[36] Ibid. p.2. See also Phillips' review of Bellah et. al.'s *Habits of the Heart*. Phillips, *Looking Backward*, p.12.

[37] C. Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', pp.345-46.

[38] This idea is fully explored below in chapter 3.

[39] The problem of assigning individuals to particular counties in this thesis is addressed below, p.77.

significant way from the members of other communities.'[40] The boundary between one community and other groups can, in general, be formed in two ways: through collective participation in common activities which leads to a feeling of solidarity or corporate identity, and through the idea of community as a mental construct; this is encapsulated in the idea of communities of the mind. Cohen has explored the latter use of the term by analysing community as a symbolic construction, noticing how members of a community interpret symbols, which come in linguistic, behavioural and visual forms.[41] The interpretation of these symbols forms the building blocks of culture, and also enforce the boundary between one community and another.

In this thesis we will explore both these aspects of community in relation to the sample group of military elites from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In Part I, we will assess the extent to which collective activities amongst the members of our sample, particularly focusing on their collective careers in military, political and administrative service to the crown, engendered a feeling of community amongst them and marked them out as a recognisable group within medieval society. As a corollary to this study we will look at the marriage patterns of our sample. If it is found that this group was in the main endogamous then this would be another example of boundary between this community and other members of society. In Part II, we will turn to the idea of the cultural community. We will identify the characteristics of chivalric culture through analysis of the cultural practices of the members of our sample, and ask whether we can consider adherence to a shared culture marked these men out as a definable community.

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[40] Cohen, *Symbolic Construction*, p.12.

[41] Ibid., *passim*.

Chapter 1

A Military Community?

The almost constant state of war that existed from the time of Edward I's campaigns in Scotland, France and Wales in the 1290s and early 1300s through to Edward III's campaigns in Scotland in the 1330s and France from 1337 to 1360 involved an unprecedented requirement for military service from the English aristocracy. To meet the enormous military personnel requirements required to wage their wars, both Edward I and Edward III successfully harnessed the aristocracy who performed both regular personal military service and exploited their own recruitment networks to provide military retinues. The two samples chosen as the focus of this thesis were selected from two particularly active periods during the wars of Edward I in Scotland and Edward III in France, and we would thus expect them to have played a full role in the military campaigns of the period. In this chapter we ask whether we can consider that the members of our sample formed part of an identifiable military community. To this end, the first part of this chapter will assess how the men responded to the increasing calls to military service by the crown, and how important military service was in the career structure of members of our sample. The second part of this chapter will look at how their military service was carried out and what the main motivational factors were in encouraging military service. The final section of this chapter will look at the landholding patterns of these men, and ask whether military service could engender a feeling of community amongst men from different regions, who might never have met each other except through war.

Frequency of Military Service

In order to gauge the frequency of the military service given by the members of the samples, a case study has been made of the more important campaigns from the reign of the three Edwards, which should sufficiently indicate their general patterns of service. These include the campaigns that Edward I and Edward II led into Scotland in 1296, 1298, 1300, 1303-4, 1314, and the campaigns of Edward III to the Low Countries in 1338-9; Brittany in 1342-3; the Crécy/Calais campaign of 1346-7; the Rheims campaign of 1359-60; and the Picardy campaign of 1369. With the exception of the 1369 campaign the king led all of these expeditions, and the royal household played a significant role in the recruitment of the cavalry. It is likely that the king had intended to lead the 1369 campaign but he was kept at home due to the death of Queen Philippa. In the event the royal household sailed without the king and was led by John of Gaunt.[1]

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[1] See below, pp.51-2.

The main problems in re-constructing military service are the unevenness, variety and reliability of the sources.[2] For the 1296 campaign there was a marshal's roll of the paid cavalry but only a household horse inventory has survived.[3] This inventory lists 300 cavalry troops. We also know that the Earl of Warenne was present on this campaign as his retinue led the decisive cavalry charge that scattered the Scottish cavalry at the siege of Dunbar.[4] As we have no way of discovering if other members of the sample served for pay outside the household, or at their own expense, the numbers were probably somewhat higher.

In contrast to the 1296 campaign, the sources for reconstructing the cavalry troops present at Falkirk 1298 are plentiful. Letters of protection for this campaign are voluminous and an extensive horse inventory for household cavalry and a few horses outside the household has survived.[5] Andrew Ayton has reminded us that letters of protection 'are statements of intent rather than firm evidence of performance', and their essential purpose, to provide the recipient with a measure of security from a range of legal actions during a period of military service, was open to abuse.'[6] Bearing this in mind, the horse inventory for this campaign is a valuable source; it not only reveals the names of those men present at the muster before a campaign, but also names some of the more humble cavalry soldiers who may not have had sufficient lands or motivation to obtain a letter of protection from the chancery.[7] Admittedly the horse inventory is somewhat biased towards the household troops and those receiving royal pay. However, the *Falkirk Roll of Arms*, an heraldic document which was possibly commissioned by Henry Percy,[8] includes the names of the most important men present at this battle and thus fills in some of the gaps by naming some of those men who gave voluntary service on that campaign.[9]

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[2] See Appendix II for the military records for the 1300 sample between 1296 and 1314. Note that Thomas Ughtred was also present at Bannockburn (Appendix III).

[3] E101/5/23; J.E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (Oxford, 1901), p.273.

[4] See below, p.152.

[5] This is available in print in Gough, *Scotland in 1298*, pp.14-51 (letters of protection), pp.161-237 (horse inventory).

[6] Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p.157 and n.103.

[7] Andrew Ayton gives a thorough review of the availability and historical worth of horse inventories and *restauro equorum* accounts in, ibid., ch. 3.

[8] This issue is discussed in depth in, N. Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry, 1254-1310: A Study of the Historical Value of the Rolls of Arms* (Oxford, 1965), pp.103-6.

[9] *The Falkirk Roll* is reprinted in. Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, 1: 406-29. For the provenance and historical worth of this roll see N. Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry*, p.105; M. Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance Under Edward I* (London, 1972), pp.68-9.

As in 1298 an heraldic source, *The Song of Caerlaverock*, allows us to view the most prominent members of the army which Edward I assembled for his campaign in Dumfries and Galloway in 1300.[10] This source, listing the bannerets present at the siege of Caerlaverock and a number of knights who distinguished themselves there, is particularly useful as it identifies members of the army not recorded in financial records. Michael Prestwich has calculated that of the 87 bannerets mentioned in the *Song of Caerlaverock* only 23 served for pay and these were mainly members of Edward I's household retinue.[11]

We are also presented with a good range of sources for the campaign during the winter and spring of 1303-4 which culminated with the siege of Stirling Castle. A pay account is extant in the Wardrobe book for the year 32 Edward I (November 1303-November 1304).[12] We can also draw upon another heraldic roll, *The Stirling Roll*, which is an incomplete list of those present at the siege of Stirling, naming 93 men in the vanguard under the Earl of Hereford and nine men serving in the King's brigade on 30 May 1304.[13]

The final major campaign in Scotland involving members of the 1300 sample took place during the reign of Edward II: the disastrous campaign of 1314 which ended with the English army's humiliating defeat at Bannockburn.[14] Although the earls of Lancaster, Warwick, Arundel and Surrey refused to serve in person, as the summons was not agreed in parliament,[15] Edward II was able to mobilise probably the largest force to be put in the field since 1300.[16] Unfortunately, in the frenzied flight from the field it is likely that the marshal's roll for this campaign was lost on the battlefield and the details of the men who served at Bannockburn is limited.[17] A list of protections and letters of attorney obtained for this campaign has survived and includes 830 cavalrymen: 324 of these men were members

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[10] For printed versions of this poem, see above, pp.31, n.132.

[11] For the details of the methods of service for men named in *The Song of Caerlaverock* see, M. Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, pp.69-70.

[12] British Library, Add. M.S. 8835 ff55-68.

[13] N. Denholm-Young, *The Country Gentry in the Fourteenth Century with Special Reference to the Heraldic Rolls of Arms* (Oxford, 1969), pp.152-3; Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, pp.483-4. *The Stirling Roll* is printed in Brault, ibid. pp.485-93.

[14] For details of the battle see below, p.154.

[15] J. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster1307-1322: A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1970), pp.157-8.

[16] J. E. Morris suggested the English army might have consisted of 2,400 cavalry and 15,000 infantry. For a recent review of the possible size of the English and Scots armies see: P. Reese, *Bannockburn*, (Edinburgh, 2000), ch. 4.

[17] M. Prestwich, 'Cavalry Service in Early Fourteenth-Century England', in J. Gillingham and J.C. Holt (eds.), *War and Government in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1984), p.148 n.7.

of the retinues of the Earls of Gloucester, Hereford and Pembroke, the two Despensers.[18] A few other men can be identified from chronicle accounts of the battle and we also know that Robert Clifford, Edmund Hastings and William Marshal died in the battle.[19]

Turning to the campaigns selected for the study of the military careers of the 1359-60 sample, we find that we are better served by the sources. The 1338-9 Flanders campaign was well documented and a printed version of William Norwell's wardrobe book allows us to reconstruct this army with relative ease.[20] A *restauro equorum* account exists in Norwell's wardrobe book, as does a pay account for the captains for this campaign, which has been used to reconstruct the retinue sizes of the major captains and household bannerets.[21] Andrew Ayton has observed that retinue sizes presented by wardrobe pay accounts (or *vadia guerre*) are not entirely accurate. Particularly during the reign of Edward III, they often summarised the size of captains' retinues and rarely note fluctuations in retinue sizes caused by death and desertion for the duration of a particular campaign.[22] Bearing this warning in mind, the size of the retinues recorded in Appendices II and III should only be used to compare the relative ability of individual captains to put forces in the field. It should not be taken as a definitive record of the size of the retinues for the entirety of the campaign.

The Brittany campaign of the autumn and winter of 1342-3 saw many of the developments that characterised the military revolution for many historians. These comprised changes in the structure and pay of the army, including the recruitment of mixed retinues of men at arms and archers; the adoption of the *chevauchée* as a battle seeking strategy; and changes in battlefield tactics which saw the dominance of dismounted troops and archers in defensive formations against mounted troops.[23] Edward III abandoned his

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[18] C71/6; J.E. Morris, *Bannockburn*, (Cambridge, 1914), pp.34-5.

[19] All three are included in the lengthy list of casualties in the Annales Londonienses. W. Stubbs (ed.), *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, 2 vols., Kraus Repr. (London, 1965), 1: 230-1.

[20] Lyon et. al. *Norwell*. A detailed account of this campaign can be found in J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: Volume I, Trial by Battle*, (London, 1990), ch. 8.

[21] Ibid., pp.309-25 (*restauro equorum*), pp.325-62 (*vadia guerre*).

[22] For this and more general observations of *vadia guerre* accounts can be found in Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp.138-56.

[23] The best discussions of the characteristics of the so called 'Edwardian military revolution' can be found in, Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, ch.1; A. Ayton, 'The English Army and the Normandy Campaign of 1346', in A. Curry and D. Bates (eds.), *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp.21-38; M. Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: the English Experience* (New Haven and London, 1996), ch.14. For a comparison between the Edwardian military revolution and the debate surrounding the military revolution of the early modern period, see, M. Prestwich, 'Was there a Military Revolution in Medieval England?', in C. Richmond and I. Harvey (eds.), *Recognitions: Essays Presented to Edmund Fryde* (Aberystwyth, 1996), pp.19-38; C. J. Rogers, 'The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years War', in C. J. Rogers (ed.), *The Military*

financially crippling policy of recruiting allies in the Low Countries, which had been pursued in 1338-9 and 1340, and relied upon troops raised almost entirely in England who were led, on the whole, by the English military elite.[24] The recruitment of mixed retinues can clearly be seen in the *vadia guerre* accounts, which have survived from this campaign, and additional members of this sample can be identified from the *restauro equorum* accounts which have also been included in William Eddington's wardrobe book.[25]

Perhaps the greatest achievement of Edward III's military career came during the Normandy campaign in the summer of 1346, which culminated in the capture of Calais in August 1347.[26] Unfortunately the original *vadia guerre* accounts for this campaign have been lost. Some fifteenth- and sixteenth-century transcripts of Walter Wetwang's original accounts are in existence, but the material is greatly abbreviated and there are no indications of the duration of service or the amount of wages paid.[27] These transcripts have been brought together in the 'Calais Roll' which has been printed, amongst other collections, in G. Wrottesley's *Crecy and Calais*.[28] However, there are a few concerns regarding the accuracy of the 'Calais Roll' and Wrottesley's calculation based on this 'roll', that 32,000 men were in arms at the climax of the siege, has been proved to be erroneous.[29] The retinue sizes based on the 'Calais Roll' have been included in Appendix III, but again they have only been included to give an impression of relative retinue sizes between captains. Other sources printed in *Crecy and Calais* can help to identify men form the 1359-60 sample who served during the 1346-7 campaigns. Wrottesley took extracts from the French Roll which included letters of protection obtained before this campaign. He also extracted from the Memoranda Roll Queen's Remembrance which noted the men who should not be required to

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Revolution Debate: Readings on the Transformation of Early Modern Europe (Boulder, Colorado, 1995). Some scholars have questioned the usefulness of the term, see for example, M. G. A. Vale, *The Origins of the Hundred Years War: the Angevine Legacy, 1250-1340* (Oxford, 1996), pp.viii-ix. For more detailed discussions of the strategy of *chevauchée* and the changes in infantry tactics during the fourteenth century, which are seen as key components of the military revolution, see, C. J. Rogers, 'Edward III and the Dialectics of Strategy, 1327-1360', *TRHS*, 6th ser. 4 (1994): 83-102; C. J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy Under Edward III, 1327-1360*, (Woodbridge, 2000); K. DeVries, *Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century: Discipline, Tactics and Technology* (Woodbridge, 1996).

[24] Jonathan Sumption also provides a detailed account of the background and campaigning in Brittany in 1342-3: J. Sumption, *Hundred Years War Vol. I*, ch.11.

[25] E36/204 ff.105-10 (*vadia guerre*), ff.86r-88r (*restauro equorum*).

[26] Again Sumption gives good accounts of these campaigns: Sumption, *Hundred Years War Vol. I*, chs. 14 and 15.

[27] Ayton, 'English Army', pp.260-1.

[28] Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, pp.191-200.

[29] Ayton, 'English Army', pp.261-8. For an excellent review of the shortcomings of this collection, see J. E. Morris, 'Review Article: Crecy and Calais from the Public Records', *EHR* 14 (1899): 766-9.

fulfil future military service (as outlined in the 1345 military survey), as they had done service in 1346-7. Finally Wrottesley listed the household members who had outstanding claims for this campaign after the fall of Calais in 1347.[30]

The 1359-60 campaign has been chosen as the basis for the selection of the second sample, and with good reason. This was arguably the best-equipped, most militarily experienced and most efficiently structured army – in terms of providing the greatest strategic and tactical flexibility – to be put into the field in the fourteenth century.[31] This host was almost entirely mounted, including the archers, and was recruited as mixed retinues of men-at-arms and archers led by captains who had experienced war from the dour Scottish campaigns of the 1330s, through to the *annus mirabilis* of 1346-7, and the free-booting *chevauchées* of the 1350s. All these developments had been learned in over seventy years of warfare, beginning with the wars of Edward I in the 1290s. A full pay account exists for this campaign, which unusually details the full range of payments which a captain could receive in return for service, be it passage/re-passage of horses, *restauro equorum* or just pay for himself and his retinue, all in one continuous account.[32] Not all of the captains accepted the full package of remuneration for this campaign and in order to keep the numbers of the sample to manageable figures, only the 94 military captains who received *restauro equorum* have been included.[33]

The final campaign selected for the study of the 1359-60 sample's military service records is the Picardy expedition of 1369. This campaign is particularly interesting as the royal household took part, despite the fact that Edward III was not present.[34] Edward III had intended to lead this expedition, but the death of Queen Philippa on 15 August, just before the fleet was due to assemble, prevented his participation.[35] However, the royal household was already in arms and a great many of them served in France after John of Gaunt was indentured to lead the entire expedition. No pay account has survived from this campaign;

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[30] Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, pp.80-131 (extracts, French Roll), pp.130-90 (extracts, Memoranda Roll), pp.209-19 (payments to members of the household).

[31] For the structure of this army and developments in the English fighting machine from the reign of Edward I until 1359-60, see, Ayton, 'English Armies in the Fourteenth Century', pp.21-35.

[32] E101/393/11 ff.79r-116v.

[33] A large group of clerics leading small to medium sized retinues also received pay and *restauro* but these have not been included in the sample. For the clerical retinue leaders see: E101/393/11 ff.86v-90r.

[34] J. Sherborne, 'John of Gaunt, Edward III's Retinue and the French Campaign of 1369', in A. Tuck (ed.), *War, Politics and Culture in Fourteenth-Century England* (London and Rio Grande, Ohio, 1994), pp.77-97.

[35] Ibid. 88-9.

however, the retinue leaders and a proportion of the royal household, or *retinencia regis* as it is referred to in surviving sources, can be traced through an issue roll and an incomplete file of privy seal records ordering the Keeper of the Wardrobe, Henry Wakefield, to account.[36] The retinue sizes in Appendix III have been deduced from the issue roll.[37] It is likely that more of the men who served in the royal household in 1359-60 would be present on this campaign, but they have not appeared in the incomplete sources.

Table 1.1, below, shows the number of men identifiable from these sources for all the campaigns studied. Tables 1.2 and 1.3 illustrate the regularity of military service amongst the men of both samples. These men have been divided into five groups: the titled nobility; those who served in the royal household in at least one campaign under review; foreign captains serving the English crown; the barons and bannerets; and the knights and esquires who do not fall into any of the above groups. Naturally some of these categories overlap: some members of the baronage served in the royal household, but, as we will see later in this chapter, service in the royal household profoundly affected these men's patterns of military service, so they have been counted in the category of 'royal household'. The average number of campaigns served is fewer than the number of campaigns used in this survey as some men from the sample had either died before the campaign was launched or would have been too young to serve. Many careers started at a young age: for example, John of Gaunt was only ten when he was present on the king's barge at the sea battle of Winchelsea in 1350. For the purposes of this analysis eighteen years of age has been considered a cut-off point for whether a man was old enough to serve on campaign.[38]

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[36]E/403/438 (Issue Roll) The issue roll also includes a long but incomplete list of soldiers '*de retinencia regis*'. E101/369/13 (Wakefield's orders to account).

[37] James Sherborne has also provided a full list of their projected and actual sizes. J. Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France 1369-80', in A. Tuck (ed.), *War, Politics and Culture*, pp.1-6.

[38] Maurice Keen found that amongst the deponents in the court of chivalry cases of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the most common age that a man was first in arms was seventeen or eighteen. M. Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman: Heraldry, Chivalry and Gentility in Medieval England, c.1300-c.1500* (Stroud, 2002), p.61.

Table 1.1. Total Number of Men from the Samples Identified as Present on Each Campaign (1296-1369)

Campaign	Total Number Present
1296	15
1298	74
1300	101
1303-4	27
1314	14[39]
1338-9	18
1342-3	27
1346 (Crécy)	31
1346-7 (Calais)	39
1359-60	94
1369	18

[39] This figure includes 13 members of the 1300 sample plus Thomas Ughtred a member of the 1359-60 sample.

Table 1.2. Frequency of Military Service (1300 Sample)

Group	Number from Total Sample	Average number of Times Served	Average Number of Campaigns Available to Serve
Titled Nobility[40]	9	2.3	4.7
Household	21	2.6	4.5
Barons & Bannerets	48	2.5	4.7
Knights & Esquires	15	1.7	4.1
Foreign	8	1.6	4.4
Total	101	2.3	4.5

Table 1.3. Frequency of Military Service (1359-60 Sample)

Group	Number from Total Sample	Average number of Times Served	Average Number of Campaigns Available to Serve
Titled Nobility	9	3.4	3.7
Household	72	2.4	5.6
Barons & Bannerets	3	2.3	3.3
Knights & Esquires	8	1.3	3.9
Foreign	2	1.5	5.0
Total	94	2.4	5.2

Tables 1.2 and 1.3 raise some interesting points. Firstly, it is clear that we are looking at two very different types of sample of the military community. This is partly as a result of the changes in the way hosts were recruited and paid between 1300 and 1359, and

[40] This figure includes all members who had attained comital status between 1296-1314. Therefore Aymer Valence has been included as Earl of Pembroke, even though he was of baronial rank between 1298-1307. Likewise Hugh Despenser, the elder, Hugh Courtenay, and Henry of Lancaster have been included as barons as they did not receive their committal titles until after 1314. John of Brittany has been included amongst the English nobles as the Earl of Richmond. He was also heavily involved in English politics in the later years of Edward I's reign and during the first half of Edward II's reign.

partly due to the nature of the two sources used to select the samples. *The Song of Caerlaverock* names the most prominent members of the army present at the siege of Caerlaverock; thus, the poem reveals a high number of bannerets out of those sampled. Many of these bannerets led quite small retinues. For instance, William Cantilupe led two knights and eight esquires and Robert Scales's retinue only consisted of one knight and six esquires on the Caerlaverock campaign.[41] The retinues of the bannerets for the 1359-60 campaign tended to be much larger, ranging from the relatively small retinue of Michael Poynings, which consisted of four knights, 15 men-at-arms and 20 archers, to the larger retinues of bannerets such as Edward Despenser, which consisted of 12 knights, 48 men-at-arms and 60 archers.[42] Moreover, in 1300 the size of the earls' retinues was often much smaller than those of the earls of the 1359-60 sample. A comparison of the Earl of Lancaster's retinue in 1298 with the Duke of Lancaster's in 1359-60 illustrates this point. In 1298 Thomas, Earl of Lancaster led 9 knights and 34 esquires; in 1359-60 his nephew's retinue consisted of 6 bannerets, 90 knights, 486 men-at-arms and 423 archers: 1,005 men overall.[43]

It is also clear from the tables that the majority of men identified from the *restauro equorum* account of 1359-60 carried out their military service as part of the royal household. The captains who received wages as members of the household provided a patchwork of different-sized retinues, all contracted separately with the crown; these men formed a heterogeneous group. At the top were bannerets such as Reginald Cobham, Guy Brian and Edward Despenser; all these men received an individual summons to parliament and played important roles in the politics, administration and diplomatic history of the reign. At the next level we have household knights such as Richard de la Vache, Richard Pembridge, John Chandos and Thomas Swynnerton. Their careers were defined by their service to the crown, particularly in times of war. At the lowest level were the king's sergeants and yeomen who led minuscule retinues, such as Roger Hampton who received wages for himself and one archer, and *restauro equorum* for one horse lost.[44] Briefly stated, *The Song of Caerlaverock* provides a lateral cross-section of the English army: cutting across the most senior ranks of the military community, listing the most prominent members of the army and mentioning few below the rank of banneret. The 1359-60 sample, however, provides a vertical cross-section, slicing through the military community, revealing captains of the wealth and

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[41] *Liber Quot.*, pp.198, 202. See also Appendix II.

[42] Appendix II.

[43] Appendices II and III.

[44] E101/393/11 f.105r.

importance of the king's sons and the Duke of Lancaster, down to the household sergeant, who relies on his household stipend for his sustenance.

Despite the varying sizes of the subsets represented in Tables 1.2 and 1.3, the average frequency of military service within these groups is remarkably similar. In both tables the titled nobility proved the most militarily active; followed by those who served as members of the household; the barons and bannerets who were unattached to the household; with the least military active groups being the independent retinue captains below the rank of banneret and the foreign contingents of the army. Thus, military rank and the way in which a member of our sample did his military service were paramount in determining how frequently these men went on campaign. As such, the next part of this chapter will take a closer look at the career patterns of these groups within the sample and ask what motivated some men to take to the field time after time.

Household, Retinues and Motivational Factors Leading to a Military Career

Tables 1.2 and 1.3 reveal that the titled nobility formed the most active group in the major campaigns of Edward III, second only to the household for the campaigns of Edward I. From the Anglo-Saxon ealdormen, to the Anglo-Danish jarls and the Anglo-Norman earls, the *raison d'être* of the titled nobility was their role in warfare, serving the king in return for their lands and privilege, and providing a significant number of troops for the king's wars. The frequent wars in the reigns of Edward I and Edward III placed a greater emphasis on the titled nobility's function as a military elite, and, on the whole, their response was positive. On average the nine earls from the 1300 sample would serve on three out of five campaigns. The Earls of Hereford and Surrey served on every campaign they were able to, and Ralph Monthermer, the sometime Earl of Gloucester, may well have been present on all the campaigns selected for this survey, but no evidence can be found of his presence on the 1296 campaign. *Prima facie* the response of the earls from our sample to the wars in Scotland is reflective of the response of the titled nobility to military service throughout Edward I's reign. The pattern was set during the Welsh Wars. With the exception of the Earls of Warwick and Lincoln who twice served for pay before 1282, if the king led a campaign in mainland Britain, then the earls gave voluntary service to the crown, raising cavalry retinues at their own expense.[45]

However, the military service provided by the titled nobility of the 1300 sample was not unconditional. As far as possible the earls would freely give service as long as it was given on their own terms, rather than those of the king. This is indicated by the reluctance of the Earls of Hereford and Gloucester to receive royal pay on the Welsh campaign of 1282. Michael Prestwich observed 'that men of the stature of Hereford and Gloucester resented the

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[45] Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, pp.71-2.

degree of subordination implied by royal pay.'[46] Originally Edward I had intended to put the household knight Robert Tiptoft in command of the forces in South Wales. This threatened both Gloucester's position as the premier marcher lord in this region and Hereford's hereditary position as marshal and under pressure Edward was forced to back down. The main bone of contention between the crown and titled nobility was whether they owed service to the crown when either the king was not present on campaign, or if the campaign was conducted overseas. There were rumblings at the parliament of Salisbury against the feudal summons issued to raise troops to serve in Gascony in 1294, but the Welsh revolt of that year precluded the king from launching a major royal campaign in that year.[47] In the end the Earls of Lancaster, Lincoln and Cornwall, who led the army that set sail for Gascony in October 1294, served for royal pay.[48] The main flashpoint between the crown and the higher nobility occurred with Edward's feudal summons for service in Flanders and Gascony in 1297, made in the Salisbury parliament of that year; this summons precipitated a constitutional crisis (although complaints against excessive taxation and purveyance were also important contributing factors).[49] A feudal summons proved unenforceable in the teeth of magnate and baronial opposition, and when it was eventually made, the wording was unusual: tenants-in-chief were 'affectionately required and requested' to attend the muster to be held in London, to ensure 'the salvation and general advantage of the realm.'[50] However this vague wording was not enough to prevent a mass boycott of military service by the earls. It may even have made things worse as many of the barons refused to do service on these terms, on the basis that it could be construed as a precedent for a new form of military service; as the chronicler Peter Langtoft observed: 'For to do new service without condition / Would be disinheritance by custom.'[51] Edward was forced to rely on his own household troops, and a handful of tenants-in-chief who were prepared give service, but this proved insufficient to achieve his aims. Nonetheless the titled nobility's response to William Wallace's rising in the winter of 1297-8 was very positive. Both of Edward's main opponents earlier in the year, the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, took part in this campaign

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[46] Ibid. p.72.

[47] M. Prestwich, *English Politics in the Thirteenth Century*, (Basingstoke, 1990), p.99.

[48] Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, p.76.

[49] Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp.419-27; Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, ch.10; A. Tuck, *Crown and Nobility 1272-1461: Political Conflict in Late Medieval England*, (Oxford, 1985), pp.35-41.

[50] Palgrave, *Parliamentary Writs*, 1: 282; M. Prestwich (ed.), *Documents Illustrating the Crisis of 1297-98 in England*, Camden 4th Ser., 24 (1980), pp.4-6; Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, pp.84-6.

[51] *Langtoft*, 1: 286-9.

as did all nine of the English earls from the 1300 sample, together with the Earl of Dunbar and his son.[52] These men turned out again at the siege of Caerlaverock two years later. Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and son of Edward I's opponent in 1297, and Ralph Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester, were also present at the siege of Stirling in 1304.[53]

When the opposition to overseas service in 1294 and 1297 is compared with the support which Edward I's campaigns in Scotland received between 1298-1306, important questions are raised regarding the titled nobility's attitude to military service. What motivated these men to raise troops at their own expense in support of the king's campaigns? In answering this question Michael Prestwich has concentrated on the means that Edward I had in 'cajoling, persuading and forcing them to join him in the great military enterprises of the reign.'[54] Prestwich sees the manipulation of the earls' franchise as typical of Edward I's treatment of the nobility. The threat of collecting the huge entry fines that most of the earls owed could be used to 'encourage' them to perform military service. There are two very good examples of this concerning two members of the 1300 sample. In 1295 Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, was ordered to go to Gascony at royal wages. As we have seen, the titled nobility resisted serving for wages in 1282 and overseas service in 1294. However, Arundel still owed the crown £4,496 from a relief imposed on his grandfather, William Fitzalan, dating back to the reign of King John. The collection of this huge amount in one lump sum could have been ruinous, and Arundel duly sailed to Gascony.[55] The respite of these debts could also be used as a reward. Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, was excused further payment of the £4,000 that was still owed to the crown after good service in 1304.[56] Further encouragement could be given to the earls with the grants of judicial protection that were offered to all those who served on campaign.[57] Letters of protection with clause *volumus*, could be obtained before campaigns to ensure that anyone who gave the king military service would be protected from a range of legal actions whilst he was away. They became, in Andrew Ayton's words, 'essential lubricants' of the military machine',[58] encouraging aristocrats to serve, as they would have no fear of being subject to

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[52] John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, has been counted with the native English earls due to his involvement in English politics and administration. The Earls of Dunbar have been counted as 'foreign' as they rarely involved themselves in political affairs south of the border.

[53] The Earls of Arundel and Surrey had died by this date.

[54] Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, pp. 224.

[55] Ibid. pp.235-7, Prestwich, *English Politics*, p.42.

[56] Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, p.236.

[57] Ibid. p.237.

[58] Ayton, 'English Army at Crécy', p.196.

hostile litigation whilst they were away from their lands. They were also open to abuse, as some men would take them out to delay a legal process in which they were likely to lose. They proved so popular that they were to become a feature of every campaign of the late thirteenth and fourteenth century, and they are a vital source for identifying members of the military community.[59]

In Scotland Edward encouraged the earls to prosecute his war to their own advantage by making grants of lands, titles and castles before they were conquered. Often these grants deliberately set the English earls against the native lords whom they were replacing, in effect creating a new English nobility in Scotland. The best example of this is the grant of Lochmaben Castle and 'all the lands of Robert de Brus formerly Earl of Carrick, in Annandale' to the Earl of Hereford.[60] This grant deliberately pitted one of Edward's most trusted lieutenants against the pretender to the Scottish throne, no doubt in the anticipation that Hereford would bring all of his resources to bear in an attempt to add Carrick to his English titles as Earl of Hereford and Essex. This grant also expressly stated that it was made in consideration of Hereford's 'good service'. Similar grants to the most militarily active earls can be multiplied. Aymer Valence was granted the barony of Bothwell before it was taken later that year. Edward I deemed the barony forfeit by Moray for the support he had given Balliol in 1296.[61] Ralph Monthermer was granted the earldom of Atholl, which he later sold to David Strathbogie for the tidy sum of £10,000 and the Earl of Lincoln took a similar course in selling his grant of the lands of James Steward back to the crown for 4,000 marks.[62]

There is no doubt that the prospect of receiving royal patronage in the form of lands forfeited by the Scottish nobility was an important factor in generating support for the king's wars from the titled nobility. With the real prospect of financial gain, the earls were willing to serve at their own expense, as long as the campaign was led by the king during the campaigning season. If they were forced to winter in Scotland it appears that provisions would be made for the receipt of royal pay.[63] In this way Edward had tied his own interests in Scotland with those of his most influential magnates and created, as May McKisack termed it, a 'joint-stock enterprise'.[64] However, the king's attempts to either compel or

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[59] The value of letters of protection is analysed in depth by Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp.157-62.

[60] *CDS*, 2: no.1757.

[61] *CDS*, 2: no.1214.

[62] *CDS*, 2: nos. 1945, 1858.

[63] Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance,* p.73.

[64] M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959), p.219. McKisack used this term in reference to the wars of Edward III, but it can be as easily applied to Edward I actions in Scotland in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

encourage military service are only part of the story. It seems apparent that the self-perception of the titled nobility had a powerful effect on their decision to perform military service. War was an essential feature of both politics and aristocratic society in the later Middle Ages. Just as the titled nobility saw themselves as the natural councillors of the king and leaders of regional society, they also saw themselves as a military elite, who, in providing military service, were fulfilling their 'proper duty'.

It is clear that many of the factors which inspired regular military service from the titled nobility of the 1300 sample were also important to members of the 1359-60 sample. Like their predecessors, the earls who served on the 1359-60 campaign had been keen to obtain royal patronage in the grant of lands and titles and to gain wealth from the profits of war. Indeed the opportunities to acquire the spoils of war were vastly improved with the switch in the theatre of war away from Scotland and towards France from 1337 onwards. Whereas the campaigning grounds of Scotland had become barren, populated by an impoverished people after forty years of war, the French *pays* provided rich pickings for English soldiers in the 1340s and 1350s, with numerous chronicle accounts of the richness of the goods plundered by the English in campaign after campaign. Moreover, the Scottish nobility were unlikely to raise large ransoms; indeed, Edward I's declaration that the Scottish nobility were traitors, precluded the possibility of any ransoms during his reign. In France, fighting against a chivalric equal, the situation was completely different. Fortunes were made with the capture of important French nobles on the Crécy and Poitiers campaigns, alongside the gains made in the wars in Brittany and Gascony.[65] The widespread use of the indenture system during the reign of Edward III also gave military captains a financial windfall, as part of their agreement with their individual retinues was the division of spoil between the king, a captain and members of the retinue.

In some respects, however, the role of the titled nobility in war during the reign of Edward III was very different from that of their counterparts in the reigns of Edward I and Edward II. A major part of this was the increasing use of the indenture system and the slow progression to armies in the full pay of the crown. During the last years of Edward I's reign and after the catastrophic Bannockburn campaign, the crown experimented in contracting captains outside the royal household for pay.[66] Yet it was during Edward III's campaigns in Scotland that wholly paid armies and indenturing of captains for independent command were

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[65] The importance of the possibility of making huge profits, through ransoms and plunder in encouraging military service have been emphasised by Anthony Tuck, Andrew Ayton and Michael Prestwich. A. Tuck, 'Why Men Fought in the 100 Years War', *History Today* 33 (1983): 35-40; Andrew Ayton, 'War and the English Gentry Under Edward III', *History Today* 42 (1992): 34-40; M. Prestwich, 'Why did Englishmen Fight in the Hundred Years War?' *Medieval History* 2 (1992): 58-66.

[66] Prestwich, 'Cavalry Service', pp-147-58.

developed.[67] Once the titled nobility had acknowledged the need to accept remuneration from the crown to pay the wages of their retinues, their importance within the king's armies was actually increased. Previously, voluntary service had limited the size of a noble's retinue to the extent of his own financial resources; now he could lead much larger retinues with the knowledge that the crown would provide the bulk of the wages for that retinue. The titled nobility in 1282 had feared that the receipt of royal pay would subordinate their position in the army. As it turned out, the receipt of royal pay during the wars of Edward III increased the interdependence between crown and nobility. As Andrew Ayton has stated:

> the function of the military machine *depended* on the contracting captains making full use of their own financial and manpower resources. The mobilisation of feed retainers speeded up the process of recruitment as well as bringing a degree of stability to a contract army. Magnate money eased the cash-flow problems with which military expeditions were invariably set.[68]

Wholly paid armies allowed the crown to affect the structure of the armies it put into the field. The battles of Dupplin Moor and Halidon Hill demonstrated the defensive superiority of combining archers and men-at-arms in a unified formation.[69] The value of a wholly mounted troop and the strategic importance of the *chevauchée* had also been appreciated during the Scottish campaigns of the 1330s. Whereas the noble captains of Edward I had mainly provided cavalry troops, by the late 1330s they now brought mixed retinues of men-at-arms and archers on campaign and by the 1359-60 expedition all of the archers were mounted.[70] The increasing use of military indentures between the crown and the titled nobility in particular brought a new strategic element to Edward III's wars against the French. The obligation for a captain to raise a certain number of men-at-arms and archers as laid out in his indenture, allowed the crown to control the composition and structure of a given retinue. It also allowed armies to operate independently of the king's command so that operations could be conducted in several theatres of war at the same time. Ambitious

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[67] The Best account of Edward III's early campaigns in Scotland is, R. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots: The formative Years of a Military Career, 1327-1335* (Oxford, 1965). For the use of indenture in a later campaign independent of the king's command: N. B. Lewis, 'The Strength of English Armies in the Reign of Edward III', *EHR* 183 (1931): 353-60; N.B. Lewis, 'The Recruitment and Organisation of a Contract Army, May to November 1337' *BIHR* 37 (1964): 1-19; M. Prestwich, 'English Armies in the Early Stages of the Hundred Years War: a Scheme in 1341', *BIHR* 56 (1983): 102-113.

[68] Ayton, 'English Armies in the Fourteenth Century', pp.26-27. Emphasis added.

[69] Also see below, pp.155-6.

[70] Ayton, 'English Armies in the Fourteenth Century', pp.31-6.

schemes were laid to open three fronts against the Valois king at the same time in the campaigns of 1346 and the rather less well co-ordinated expeditions of 1355.[71]

The degree to which the crown had become dependent on the titled nobility and the extent to which changes in military organisation had directed the titled nobility's efforts towards the king's wars are illustrated by Table 1.2 and Appendix III. The frequency of military service performed by the titled nobility of the 1359-60 sample is striking. The nine earls present on this campaign served on an average four-and-a-half out of every five campaigns in which they were able to take part. Men such as William Bohun, Earl of Northampton, Henry Grosmont, Earl of Lancaster and Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, turned out time and again, serving in all of the major campaigns used in this survey between the Low Countries campaign of 1338-9 and the Rheims campaign of 1359-60. It is perhaps no coincidence that these were three of the six earls created at the parliament held in March 1337. In creating these earls the king stated that: 'Among the marks of royalty we consider it to be the chief that, through a due distribution of positions, dignities and offices, it is buttressed by wise counsels and fortified by mighty powers.'[72] Not least amongst the 'mighty powers' the king wished to harness with the creation of the new earls, was the use of their financial and recruitment resources and to give leadership in the campaigns soon to be waged in France. Appendix III is testimony to how successful this policy was.

So synonymous had the idea of membership of the titled nobility and military service become, that the next generation of the titled nobility was every bit as militarily active as the previous generation. Edward III played no small part in fostering a martial outlook for this younger generation. Both Roger Mortimer, future Earl of March, and William Montagu, second Earl of Salisbury, were taken on the Crécy campaign as members of the king's household whilst both were under the age of majority. They were also both founder members of the Order of the Garter, even though both were only twenty years of age and had only just returned from their first campaign. William Montagu was to go on to serve both in 1359-60 and again in 1369. Roger Mortimer led a huge retinue in 1359-60 including 6 bannerets, 61 knights, 232 men-at-arms and 300 archers. Mortimer died later on that campaign, cutting short what promised to be an active military life. Both these men assumed integral roles in Edward III's armies and had been clearly groomed to do so. Montagu and Mortimer, along with Edward Despenser, highlight the important role military service played as a unifying factor amongst the titled nobility. William Montagu's father had been instrumental in the fall and execution of Roger Mortimer's grandfather in 1330. Moreover, Roger Mortimer's grandfather had been involved in the hunting down and

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[71] For the 'twin *Chevauchées*' of 1355 see: Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, ch. 13.

[72] Quoted from J.E. Powell and K. Wallis, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1968), p.326.

execution of Hugh Despenser the Younger, Edward Despenser's grandfather, in 1327. Nonetheless, here were the heirs of these families all serving together on military campaigns, and in the case of Mortimer and Montagu, sitting together in the stalls of St. George's chapel in Windsor as members of the most prestigious military order in Europe. Whereas military service had been a cause of tension between the titled nobility in 1297, and on several occasions in Edward II's reign, under Edward III it was a cause for unity amongst the titled nobility. The unity of purpose that military service in the king's wars provided, engendered personal bonds between members of the titled nobility, and no doubt gave rise to a collective identity amongst these men as both a military elite and leaders of a military community.

Tables 1.2 and 1.3 reveal that second only to the titled nobility in the frequency they performed military service, were those men who served in the royal household. In Table 1.2, 21 men can be identified as performing military service through the household; and most of these men achieved the rank of banneret. Household bannerets would receive robes twice a year, at Whitsun and Christmas, and they were also paid an annual fee from the wardrobe. In 1300 their annual retaining fee was £24, twice the rate of a 'simple knight'.[73] As a rule, household bannerets would not live at court but were called upon by the king to fulfil a wide range of tasks, be they administrative, judicial or diplomatic.[74] However, a banneret's most important function came during times of war. They were expected to raise their own small cavalry retinues on campaign in order to swell the military capacity of the royal household.

In the reign of Edward I these retinues formed the only large element of cavalry paid directly from the wardrobe. Out of a total of 12 household bannerets from our sample whose retinue sizes can be ascertained for the Caerlaverock campaign, a total of 33 knights and 123 esquires can be found serving in their retinues; with an average retinue size of three knights and 10 esquires.[75] In the 1298 campaign these averages were slightly higher with the average size of a household banneret's retinue being 15 lances.[76] Recruitment for these retinues included a mixture of family members, tenants, and a range of neighbours with lands close to those of the banneret, along with other multifarious well-wishers. R. L. Ingamells has used Robert Clifford's retinue in 1300 as an example. In this campaign he was accompanied by three of his tenants: Hugh Lowther of Lowther, Thomas Flobeck who

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[73] *Liber Quot.*, pp188-95.

[74] R.L. Ingamells has covered the duties and career pattern of Edward I's household knights in depth. Ingamells, 'Household Knights', *passim*.

[75] *Liber Quot.*, pp.195-202; Appendix II.

[76] Gough, *Scotland in 1298*, pp.161-205; Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, p.66; Morris, *Welsh Wars*, p.299.

held Ellebeck and Asan of Clifford, and John Monterby who held the manor of Burgh of Clifford. He also retained three men with northern names who were likely to have been Clifford's neighbours: Roger Coupland, Nicholas Vipont and Simon Sourby. Indeed it is likely that Vipont was a relation of Clifford's wife Isabel Vipont.[77]

When these retinues are added up together and included with the household knights who brought their own retinues independent of the bannerets, it is apparent that the royal household could put a large cavalry force into the field. At Falkirk the household cavalry amounted to just under 800 men; about a third of the total cavalry on that campaign.[78] At Caerlaverock the proportion that the household troops contributed to the total strength of the cavalry was about the same. The value of the core of the cavalry provided by household troops was demonstrated clearly during the 1297 campaign. As we noted above, Edward I had difficulty in enforcing military obligation for this campaign.[79] The retinues under the banner of the royal household formed a total of 527 out of the 895 cavalry troops that sailed to Flanders.[80] Table 1.2 demonstrates that the frequency of military service performed by the household was significantly higher than that of the barons and bannerets who gave their service outside of the household in 1300. On average, the bannerets of the household served on just fewer than three of every five campaigns he would be able to attend. This compares with just over two-and-a-half out of every five campaigns for other members of the baronage.

During the wars of Edward III, the royal household maintained its position as the largest source of recruitment for royally led campaigns. However, there were significant changes in the household's role in the English armies of the mid-fourteenth century, compared to the role it fulfilled in Edward I's wars. Before we go on to look at some of the men who did their military service through the royal household, two important points should be made. First of all, the shire levies of infantry played a much less significant role in Edward III's campaigns in France, than it had during Edward I's in Scotland. With perhaps the exception of the 1346 Normandy campaign, arrayed infantry troops were rarely used. Most of the infantry was now recruited in the mixed retinues of the military captains and paid through the crown. In fact, so far had the English government gone in recruiting mounted archers, that there was virtually no infantry present on the 1359-60 campaign, with the whole host being mounted. This meant that in real terms the number of troops serving

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[77] Ingamells, 'Household Knights', pp.81-2.

[78] Gough, *Scotland in 1298*, pp. 161-205; Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance,* p.52.

[79] See above, p.57-8.

[80] N. B. Lewis, 'The English Forces in Flanders', in R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin and R. W. Southern (eds.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to F. M. Powicke*, (Oxford, 1948), pp.313-4., Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, p.52.

under the umbrella of the royal household in the armies of Edward III was greater than it had been during the campaigns of Edward I. However, in terms of the percentage of the entire army recruited by the household, the period between 1338-9 and 1359-60 would see a steady decline in the household's role as the primary source of recruitment.

Mark Ormrod has noted that the relations between Edward III and the nobility were still uncertain on the eve of the 1338-9 campaign, and the offer of double the normal rates of pay for this campaign may be indicative of a continual reluctance by the nobility to provide military service overseas.[81] Under these circumstances Edward relied heavily on the network of alliances he had built in the Low Countries and on his own household troops, which made up about 60% of the 'English' contingent.[82] The political rapprochement between Edward III and the nobility after the crisis in 1341, along with the military success of the 1340s, inspired more members of the English aristocracy to provide military service overseas. Slowly the size of the royal household decreased in comparison with other troops recruited by the higher nobility. In 1342-3 the household provided between 40% and 45%,[83] and by 1359-60 the household division provided only about a sixth of the total strength of the army.[84] Part of the reason that the number of household troops, as a percentage of the whole army, had fallen in 1359-60 campaign is that the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Lancaster led very large retinues; on previous campaigns individual captains had not put such large retinues into the field. Thus, we can note a general decline in the role of the household in providing the majority of troops for the major campaigns in the second half of the fourteenth century. With the retirement of Edward III from active service, the role of the household in providing troops disappeared altogether, to be replaced by indentures with individual captains.[85] It was only with the onset of Richard II's first campaign in Scotland in 1385 that the royal household resumed its role at the heart of army recruitment.

If the overall contribution of the household had played a less significant role than it did during Edward I's reign, the household bannerets played a very similar role. During the 1359-60 campaign nine out of the ten household bannerets who served received *restauro*

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[81] W. M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England, 1327-1377* (New Haven and London, 1990), pp.12-13, 100; A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p.109.

[82] A. Ayton, 'Edward III and the English Aristocracy at the Beginning of the Hundred Years War', in M. Strickland (ed.), *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1998), p.184.

[83] Ibid. p.185 n.63.

[84] Ibid. p.186.

[85] With the exception of the 1369 Picardy campaign. See above pp.51-2.

equorum and thus form part of our sample.[86] With the exception of Edward Despenser and Nicholas Burnell, who appear to be new additions to the household in 1359-60, all of the other bannerets were vastly experienced soldiers and had given years of service in the royal household. For example, Michael Poynings had first seen service with the king in 1338-39 as a knight in his father's retinue.[87] After his father's death in an assault on the town of Honnecourt, Michael assumed the leadership of his father's retinue and was raised to the rank of banneret in 1347.[88] As a banneret of the household he went on to serve in Brittany in 1342-43, Crécy and Calais in 1346-47 and the 1359-60 Rheims campaign, before his death in 1369.[89] Other bannerets had an equal amount of experience. Reginald Cobham and John Beauchamp of Warwick also served in 1338-9, 1342-3, 1346-7 and 1359-60 before their deaths in 1361 and 1360 respectively; William de la Zouche first saw service in the household at Crécy and was one of the *reticina regis* on the 1369 campaign. Like their predecessors in 1300, the household bannerets who served in 1359-60 were unlikely to spend much time at court: their main function was to bring their retainers on campaign and swell the ranks of the royal household. Where they differed from the bannerets of 1300 was in the size and composition of their retinues. The complex retinue led by Reginald Cobham at the siege of Calais perhaps best exemplifies this. According to the Calais roll it consisted of 6 knights, 42 men-at-arms, 7 hobelars, 24 mounted archers and 31 foot archers.[90] Unlike their counterparts during Edward I's reign these bannerets led more than just cavalry forces, reflecting the trend towards mixed retinues. Whereas men such as Robert Clifford could rely on tenants, family and neighbours in the formation of their retinue, the likes of Reginald Cobham had to cast a wider net.

Andrew Ayton's study of the structure of the English army in the Crécy campaign of 1346 has demonstrated how the 'contract' armies of this period were formed from a patchwork of retinues.[91] Each major captain acted as a centre of gravity which brought a number of smaller retinues led by lesser captains into its orbit. For example, the Earl of Warwick's retinue in 1346 consisted of several 'sub-retinues'. His three bannerets, Thomas Ughtred, Almeric St. Amand and Robert Scales all led smaller retinues consisting of 21, 20

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[86] The numbers of household bannerets ranged between 29 and 7 during the period 1330-1 to 1359-60. On the 1338-9 campaign there were 12 and in 1347 there were 14. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, Table 4, p.205.

[87] Ferguson, *Treaty Rolls*, 2: no.396.

[88] *Scalacronica*, p.107, *Norwell*, p.330; *CPR*, 1345-48, p.268.

[89] For this and what follows, see Appendix III.

[90] Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais,* p.195.

[91] A. Ayton, 'English Army at Crécy', pp.171-80.

and 15 men-at-arms respectively; a further 21 knights serving under the umbrella of Warwick's retinue brought 31 esquires with them on this campaign; all these forces were added to the retinue that Warwick had raised personally.[92] By utilising the recruitment potential of these 'sub-captains', Warwick was able to command a retinue far larger than his own recruitment networks and resources could account for. However, recruitment of neighbours, tenants and dependents still formed the core of a captain's personal retinue. For an example outside our sample, Philip Morgan found that of the 80 men who mustered for service in James Audley's retinue in 1345, half had been 'raised amongst the families and tenantry close to the Audley lands.'[93] Some locally-recruited retainers had long associations with a particular captain. Michael Poynings's retinue in 1346 included his Sussex neighbour Roger Dallingridge who served in Michael's father's retinue in 1338-39,[94] and then went on to serve with Michael in 1340, 1345 and 1346.[95] For some of Poynings's retainers in 1346, local landholding ties, and ties forged through local office-holding were strengthened with military service. For example, Andrew Peverel[96] held part of the manor of Hethefield in Sussex of the Poynings family,[97] and also served as a commissioner of the peace with Michael in Sussex in 1351, 1354, 1362 and 1368;[98] likewise John Waleys served with Michael in 1346 and was later appointed with him to peace commissions in Sussex in 1361 and 1368; in 1375 he also sat with Michael's son and heir Thomas and the Poynings's erstwhile retainer Roger Dallingridge.[99] These examples from the Poynings retinue demonstrate that the civil and military careers of the aristocracy should perhaps not be too clearly delineated, as one could easily complement the other.[100]

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[92] Ibid., p.179 (quoting C81/1741 no.10, 25; C81/1742 no.26).

[93] P. Morgan, *War and Society in Medieval Cheshire, 1277-1403*. Chetham Society, 3rd ser. 34 (Manchester, 1987), pp.75-6.

[94] This was the retinue which Michael Poynings took leadership of after his fathers' death in the assault on Honnencourt. See above, p.66 and n.88.

[95] Ferguson, *Treaty Rolls*, 2: 396; Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, pp.146, 149, 170.

[96] Peverel took out letters of protection for service in 1346, Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, pp.128, 138; and also received a pardon because of his good services in France before the siege of Calais, *CPR*, 1345-48, p.492.

[97] *CIPM*, 14: no.189.

[98] *CPR*, 1350-54, p.86; *CPR*, 1354-58, pp.59, 62; *CPR*, 1361-64, p.191; *CPR*, 1367-70, p.191.

[99] Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, pp.85, 137, 145, 161; *CPR*, 1361-64, p.63; *CPR*, 1367-70, p.191; *CPR*, 1374-77, p.136.

[100] For more on the complementary military and administrative careers of the members of our sample, see below, pp.100-1, 105-6.

Unlike the 1300 sample, the 1359-60 group includes not only the bannerets and knights of the household but also the king's esquires, sergeants and yeomen. The household knights performed a similar duty to the bannerets. Many were retinue leaders in their own right and were expected to provide manpower for the king's campaigns. Although Edward I had knights in his own household, they very rarely led their own retinues and it was left to the bannerets to provide retinue leadership. However, in Edward III's reign the knights led their own small retinues. They ranged in size from the nine men-at-arms and ten archers that Richard de la Vache brought on campaign in 1359-60 to the six archers that Thomas Swynnerton brought on the same campaign.[101] Like the bannerets, many of the household knights had a long record of service. Roger Elmrugg, Thomas Mussenden, Leo Perton, John Potenhale, William Risceby, Thomas Swynnerton and Richard de la Vache had all served on the king's military campaigns from 1338-39 to 1359-60, and Thomas Hoggshawe served on every royal-led campaign from Brittany in 1342 until the Picardy campaign in 1369. Richard Pembridge appears as a household knight for the first time in 1359-60, but he became one of Edward III's trusted chamber knights after 1360, and was promoted to the position of king's chamberlain in 1371, serving in this capacity until Michaelmas 1372.[102] Although the records for the 1369 campaign are far from complete, it is likely that Pembridge was at the king's side during that campaign and did not cross the channel.

Whereas the bannerets and even some of the knights of the household tended to have interests beyond the court, the careers of the esquires, sergeants and yeomen of the household are characterised by their length of service in the king's *familia*. Living and working at court, in times of peace these men were essential to the smooth running of the household, performing a multitude of tasks including acting as the king's bodyguard, purveyors, and administrators.[103] As a corollary to their service in the household in times of peace, they also went to war with the king. However, they led minuscule retinues. William Risceby's retinue consisted of one man-at-arms and two archers and Leo Perton, like many others, was paid wages for himself and one archer. It is interesting to note that even at the lowest level the mixed retinue of men-at-arms and archers was seen as the ideal retinue structure. Although we should perhaps be aware that these retinues could be a case of administrative fiction, in order that they might receive the full package of payments available (such as *vadia*, *restauro equorum* and payment for passage and re-passage of horses as a 'perk' of their position as household servants), they may have been listed as retinue captains as an administrative convenience. Unfortunately it is also not easy to chart

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[101] For this and what follows, see Appendix IV.

[102] Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, Appendix IV, p.280.

[103] For more on the duties of household esquires, sergeants and yeoman, see, ibid., pp.21-2, 53-63.

the military careers of many of these men. It is likely that they served in the retinues of household knights and bannerets on other occasions and have thus been obscured in the *vadia guerre* accounts. The average frequency and average number of campaigns they could serve on must therefore be treated with circumspection, not least because we can rarely work out their lifespan. However, it would be fair to say that service in the royal household increased opportunities for military service and it is highly likely that these men were some of the most militarily active men in gentry society. Moreover, these men probably had a shared sense of identity; as servants of the crown they were special, different from other members of the gentry and yeoman stock from whence they came. In this way military service certainly engendered a feeling of community amongst the household bannerets, knights, esquires, sergeants and yeomen.

The motivations behind joining the royal household would have been very similar, both to the men of the 1300 sample and those in 1359-60, so they can be covered together briefly here. The first point of note is the high incidence of family tradition in service in the household. For example, William Latimer's career was almost entirely devoted to service to the crown. He had gone on crusade with Edward I, fought in Wales, Gascony and Scotland and was still retained as a banneret of the household in 1300.[104] He brought his son William with him on campaign in 1298 and 1300 and eventually William junior was made a banneret of the household in 1306 after his father's death in 1304.[105] Walter Beauchamp, the steward of the household in 1300, had received robes of the household since 1284. His son Walter junior was with him at Falkirk and was also present at Caerlaverock as he is listed on the Galloway Roll, compiled soon after the battle. Walter also followed his father into royal service.[106] These examples can be multiplied with the families of Badlesmere, Cantilupe, Leyburn, Segrave and Welles, all contributing at least two household knights between 1297 and 1306 alone.

By the reign of Edward III then, it was common for several members of the same family to serve in the household. We have already seen how Michael Poynings followed his father Thomas into the royal household. Thomas Beauchamp, the future Earl of Warwick (d.1401) served in the household with his uncle, John Beauchamp of Warwick in 1359-60.[107] Reginald Cobham of Sterborough had a long and famous career in royal service stretching

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[104] Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, 3: 22-3; Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, p.43.

[105] Ingamells, 'Household Knights', Appendix I. Note that Ingamells has recorded Latimer senior as receiving robes in 1306. This should in fact be his son William junior.

[106] Brault, *The Roll of Arms of Edward I*, 1: 47; Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, p.44.

[107] At this time Thomas was only second in line to the earldom, but, even after the death of his elder brother Guy during this campaign, Thomas remained in the household until the death of his father in 1369; receiving robes as a chamber knight in 1366-67 and 1369. Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, Appendix IV (quoting E101/369/2, f.56 and E101/396/11, f.17).

from the 1330s to the 1359-60 campaign. He was joined as a banneret of the household by the head of the main Cobham branch, John, second Lord Cobham, in 1342 and 1346-7. Moreover, three household knights present on the 1359-60 campaign, John Beauchamp of Holt, Thomas Kingston and John Potenhale, had sons who were listed amongst the squires on this campaign: John Beauchamp junior, John Kingston and Richard Potenhale. It is not difficult to see why there should be strong element of nepotism pervading the selection of a household knight. The closeness of household members to the king made it easy for a man to introduce his son, nephew or cousin to court. It would also be easy for the king to exploit the family networks of his existing knights to introduce a new generation of household servants to court. If he had received devoted service from one member of the family, he had no reason to expect that a family member put forward on the recommendation of one of his servants would provide a lesser standard of service. There would probably also have been a strong element of family pride in service to the crown, and the benefits this service could bring were highly sought after.

There is no doubt that pay was an attractive element of membership of the household. During Edward III's reign bannerets were paid £24 a year in fees and also received a large grant in lands or cash on their promotion to the rank of banneret.[108] Sergeants-at-arms were paid 12d. per day as well as their yearly fees and robe account of £2 6s. 8d., and esquires were paid 7½ d. per day and received £2 per annum in robes and fees.[109] These wages would be most attractive to those who as yet did not have large patrimonies, for example, those waiting to inherit their father's land or younger sons who had little prospect of landed wealth. A man like John Beauchamp, brother of Thomas, Earl of Warwick (d.1369), was able to carve out a very successful career in royal service and had the honour of being the royal standard bearer at the battle of Crécy. Occasional financial awards could also fall to members of the royal household. Royal servants might receive a pension in consideration for long service. In 1358 Richard Huntingdon was awarded an annuity of 10 marks per annum in consideration of his long service in the office of the poultry: the grant went on to say that 'if through bodily weakness he was to retire he shall then take £10 yearly.'[110] This suggests the crown provided for its household servants beyond their period of active service. As it was, Huntingdon went on to serve in the 1359-60 campaign, receiving wages for himself and one archer.[111] Regular access to the king also gave the

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[108] Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, p.42.

[109] Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p.54.

[110] Ibid. p.183.

[111] Appendix IV.

opportunity to benefit from the king's patronage. Numerous privileges such as marriage to wealthy widows, grants of wardship and the granting of profitable offices were often given to household servants.[112] Service in the household could also lead to social advancement. Guided by the royal hand, men such as John Botetourt, Eustace Hatch, Guy Brian and John Beauchamp of Holt rose from relative obscurity to baronial rank.

The 1300 sample has thrown up a number of men who were neither members of the titled nobility nor members of the household. In all, from the 1300 sample, 71 out of the 101 men sampled are listed in Table 1.2 as either barons, bannerets, knights or 'foreigners'. Many of the motivations that lay behind their commitment to military service overlap with those we have already dealt with so we can cover these three groups briefly. Some of these men were serving in their capacity of retainers of other lords. Both John Hastings and Maurice Berkeley served in the retinue of Aymer Valence. Indeed an early indenture between Thomas and Maurice Berkeley has survived, outlining their service in peace and war.[113] J. R. S. Phillips has noted that both Hastings and the Berkeleys had their own 'sub retinues' consisting of their own family and local tenants and neighbours that were called on time and again for service in Scotland.[114] Other men who served in their capacity as retainers include the two foreigners, Gerard Godreville, a knight of Lorraine who served in Jean of Bar's retinue and Bertrand Montbourchier, a Breton retainer of John of Brittany.[115]

Cavalry service during the reign of Edward I was performed for a number reasons: fulfilment of military obligations, the desire to give voluntary service in support of the crown, or perhaps for individual gain. Edward I continued to issue feudal summonses throughout his reign. In the campaigns covered in this chapter, the 1300 campaign and the 1303-4 campaign were preceded by a feudal summons, whilst a summons to the 1298 Falkirk campaign stressed a tenant-in-chief's fealty and esteem to the king, rather than feudal obligation.[116] During the thirteenth century the number of cavalry troops raised by feudal summons had fallen dramatically. In 1300, 40 knights and 366 esquires responded to the summons, whilst by 1303 this number had fallen to 15 knights and 267 esquires. By the late thirteenth century it was uncommon for a tenant-in-chief to do his feudal service in person and many just detached a member of their retinue to serve the king at the tenant's expense for the period of service owed.[117] Although the numbers raised by feudal obligation

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[112] For the granting of wardships to royal servants, see below, p.124.

[113] Gough, *Scotland in 1298*, pp.260-1.

[114] J. R. S. Phillips, *Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke 1307-1324* (Oxford, 1972), Appendix II.

[115] Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, 2: 130-1; 3: 174-5.

[116] Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, p.87.

[117] Ibid. pp.78-80.

were low, 60 out of the 87 bannerets named in *The Song of Caerlaverock* were issued with an individual summons, which may account for the reason why many of these men served.[118]

Nonetheless, by the fourteenth century it was apparent the feudal summons was no longer a viable method of putting large numbers of cavalry into the field. In 1297, during the last years of his reign, Edward I attempted to extend military service to those who possessed land worth at least £20 year and in 1300 to those who owned £40. Although these measures were unpopular, a new list of £40 landholders was drawn up for the 1300 campaign and these men were duly summoned. This may well account for a few of the men who did not owe their service by other means.[119] No matter by what means a man was obliged to give service, whether through tenure or on the basis of landed wealth, most of them gave voluntary service, without royal pay. It is clear from the mass avoidance of service in 1297, and the repeated failure of Edward II to impose military obligation, that the king very much relied on the goodwill of his major subjects in their performance of military service. When the English aristocracy agreed with the king's policy, as with the wars in Wales and Scotland, then they would answer the king's call. In theatres where they felt they need not give service, or disagreed with royal policy, such as in Gascony (1294) and Flanders (1297), then their service was withheld. It was perhaps not that the men were compelled, but rather that they felt it was their duty, to give military service. This is perhaps suggestive of their collective identity: as the land-holding elite, they also seem to have seen themselves as the military elite, whose proper duty was to give their swords in service to the crown.

Those who have been categorised as the foreigners in the English army also gave voluntary service. Of these men, the Earl of Dunbar and his son, Simon Fraser, Henry Graham and Edmund Hastings were all Scottish nobles who had originally given their support to Edward I. This support could be fragile. Simon Fraser epitomises the awkward choices faced by many of the Scottish nobility. He was placed in a difficult position, as many of his lands lay in the region of Selkirk Forest and were within easy striking range of the English. Edward I may have been suspicious of Fraser's loyalty as he retained him as a member of the royal household in 1297 and 1300: Edward may have felt that the receipt of robes would bind him closer to the king.[120] However, Fraser returned to the nationalist cause in either 1300 or 1301: he swore allegiance to Robert Bruce in 1306 and was captured later that year. The full force of Edward I's venom was directed at the man who had once been a member of his own household and Fraser was hanged, drawn and quartered as a traitor later

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[118] Palgrave (ed.), *Parliamentary Writs*, 1: 327.

[119] Prestwich, *English Politics*, pp.104-5.

[120] Ingamells, 'Household Knights', Appendix I.

in 1306.[121] Apart from the Scots who served Edward I, Amanieu Albret was a Gascon relative and vassal of Edward I. He served Edward loyally in many diplomatic and administrative missions and also served on the 1300 campaign. Jean of Bar was a French noble, the younger brother of the Count of Bar. Both Albret and Bar were younger sons of members of the continental nobility and their presence on the 1300 can be explained both by wanderlust and their willingness to achieve chivalric renown. Albret's chivalric ardour is reflected in his adoption of a plain red shield in imitation of Percival. The court of Edward I, with its promotion of all things Arthurian, no doubt provided a congenial atmosphere for European knights attempting to show off their chivalric credentials.[122]

There are few members of the second sample who had neither achived the rank of banneret nor served in the royal household. The main reason for this is that the development of fully paid armies changed the way that armies were recruited. With the exception of the military assessment of 1345, Edward III made no attempts to impose military obligation for his wars in France. Whereas many of the bannerets of the 1300 sample served as independent retinue captains, during the 1359-60 campaign many of the retinues of the bannerets were brought under the umbrella of the retinues of prominent captains such as the Duke of Lancaster and the Prince of Wales. In 1359-60, outside the royal household, the only parliamentary barons serving as independent retinue captains were Henry Percy, Ralph Bassett of Drayton and John Cobham.[123] These men were important and rich magnates in their own right. They all came from families with long histories of military service and Ralph Bassett and John Cobham would go on to have a prolific career as independent captain in the 1370s.

The men who were classed as the knights and esquires in Table 1.3 were an eclectic group. Some of them may have been esquires of the household who may have not been identified as such in the records. One suspects that they may have included John Chirby who led a retinue of one man-at-arms and two archers, or Walter Condon who led a retinue of just two archers. Their appearance in the records is fleeting and if they were not members of the household they were small independent retinue leaders who contracted separately with the crown. We can be more certain of the identity of John Kyriel of Kent. Kyriel started his career as a member of the retinue of William Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon at the outset of the Normandy campaign of 1346. Huntingdon was invalided back to England early in this campaign and Kyriel, along with the rest of Clinton's retinue, joined the royal household for

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[121] Barrow, *The Bruce*, pp.171, n.2, 218, 228-9.

[122] See below, pp.177-83.

[123] As we saw earlier, John Cobham had served in the royal Household in 1342 and 1346-7. In 1359-60 he served as an independent captain.

the battle of Crécy and siege of Calais. In 1359-60 Kyriel led his own retinue of 4 knights, 11 men-at-arms and 12 archers. He had also intended to serve in the 1369 campaign but a broken leg prevented him joining John of Gaunt in France; however, his retinue of one knight, 6 men-at-arms and 10 archers was sent over. Kyriel was a rare thing in the mid-fourteenth century, a man who held the rank of banneret on the field but never received an individual summons to parliament.[124] Two men who appear in the 'knights and esquires' group were actually of exalted ancestry. Guy of Warwick, the son and heir of the Earl of Warwick, took part in the 1359-60 campaign with a small retinue of 6 men-at-arms and 12 archers, which may have been attached to his father's larger retinue. This was to be his first and last campaign, as he died before the host returned to England. The other important member of the 1359-60 who had not received an individual summons to parliament was the king's fourth surviving son Edmund Langley. In 1360 Langley still held no official title, although he was later to be raised to the earldom of Cambridge and was later made the Duke of York. Langley's retinue is unusual in that it contained no bannerets or knights, merely 15 men-at-arms and 46 archers, and is likely to have been attached to the king's retinue.

The final type of combatant in Table 1.3 is the 'foreign' contingent. There are only two members of the 1359-60 sample who can be found in this category: Frank of Hale (or Frank van Halen), and Amineu Pommiers. Hale, from the Low Countries, had a long association with Edward III and served in many of his campaigns in France. In 1359-60 he received a particularly beneficial pay-packet for his service, being given a lump sum of 1,000 marks for the 43 horses he lost on this campaign, rather than the lower amount for the true cost of lost horses recorded in the inventories;[125] this is perhaps indicative of his favourable standing with Edward III. It is difficult to know whether Hale was ever truly a member of Edward III's household but during the king's absence from the 1369 campaign, he served as a member of the *retinencia regis.* Amenieu Pommiers was the younger brother of Jean, Lord Pommiers.[126] The Pommiers family were one of the strongest supporters of Edward III in Gascony. Amenieu had served with the Black Prince at the Battle of Poitiers in 1355 and as well as serving on the 1359-60 campaign, he was also heavily involved in trying to rid Gascony of the 'free companies' in 1363-64.[127] Although Pommiers had been a loyal supporter of the English in the 1350s and 1360s he was, like many of his compatriots,

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[124] Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues', p.20.

[125] Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p.119, 205, n.42.

[126] M. W. Labarge, *Gascony, England's First Colony, 1204-1453* (London, 1980), p.164.

[127] J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume II: Trial by Fire* (London, 1999), pp.493, 513.

caught in a difficult position when the war with France re-opened in 1369. Rather than throw in his lot with one side or the other he decided to go on crusade in Prussia.[128]

That the 1359-60 sample should include fewer foreign knights than the 1300 sample is not surprising, as Edward I's wars in Scotland dragged many of the Scottish nobility into the conflict on both sides. It is also notable that after Edward III's failure to hold together continental alliances in his campaigns between 1337-40, he tended to rely more heavily on 'home-grown' troops.[129] Nonetheless, if the foreign contingents in Edward III's armies were numerically fewer, they were not necessarily unimportant. Men such as Charles of Navarre, Godfrey Harcourt of Normandy, John Count of Hainault, John Montfort of Brittany, the Captal de Buch in Gascony and Robert of Artois, all served under Edward III's banner at one stage or another between 1338 and 1369. Hale and Pommiers appear as men who carved out careers in military service to the English crown. Other men of this ilk served in the 1359-60, most famously Walter Mauny, but they have not been included due to the sampling technique. Nonetheless, Hale and Pommiers are in a way representative in that they came from the areas which gave the strongest support to Edward III's claim to the throne: the Low Countries and Gascony; and they exemplify how men with military pretensions from across Europe were drawn into the wider conflict between Plantagenet and Valois.

Geographical Spread

The first two sections of this chapter explored the concept of a military community by looking at how the frequency of service, and methods of recruitment and military organisation, helped create and consolidate social ties between members of the samples. As we noted in the introduction to Part I, one of Christine Carpenter's main criticisms of the use of the word community, particularly when used in the context of county communities, is that members of the gentry and aristocracy were part of a web of social and political networks beyond their immediate locality.[130] The following section will assess whether a community formed through military service could cut across social networks centred on a regional basis and enable a degree of unity to exist between men whose landed and political interests were scattered across the whole of England and its borders.

Figures 1 and 2 show the density of lands held by the members of each sample on a county-by-county basis. Most of this information is based on the depositions of the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* but where information on landholding is lacking,

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[128] Labarge, *Gascony*, p.164.

[129] For the foreign contingents at Crécy see, Ayton, 'English Army', pp.253-4; Ayton, 'English Army at Crécy', pp.174-5.

[130] See above, p.44; Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', pp.345-6.

political and judicial office-holding in the counties has also been taken into consideration as it is probable that those men appointed as keepers/justices of the peace, sheriffs, or members of parliament were resident in the counties they administered or represented. There are a couple of weaknesses in this type of analysis. Firstly, the available data for the 1300 sample proved greater than for the 1359-60 sample, many of whom held fewer lands, and in many cases did not hold their lands directly from the crown, with the consequence that they do not appear in the calendars.[131] Thus, there could be several members of the sample clustering in one particular area, which is not represented in Figures 1 and 2. The second main weakness is that some of the larger landholders, most notably John of Gaunt, held lands and political office in many counties and it is not possible to pin these men down to one area of influence; therefore, some counties may appear to have undue prominence compared to their importance to the individual. It must be stated at this point that if a member of the sample holds only a few acres and a messuage in one county which is insignificant in comparison with his landholding patterns in other counties, he has not been counted for that particular area. If a man holds at least one manor or part of a barony in a county he has been included.

Nonetheless, the two maps highlight some interesting trends. The counties with the densest concentration of landholding in Figure 1 are Yorkshire, and a band of eastern counties including Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. Figure 2 also shows a high density of landholding in those eastern counties and in Kent but in comparison to Figure 1 the number of men holding lands in Yorkshire is dramatically reduced. Indeed the counties north of a line running from the Severn to the Humber Estuary (excluding Wales and the Welsh Marches) seem to be much less represented than those south of this divide. The most obvious point to make is that the Caerlaverock campaign of 1300 was fought in Galloway and it would be natural for Edward I to recruit members of the aristocracy closer to the Scottish border. But perhaps it illustrates a subtler characteristic in the development of a military community during the fourteenth century. *Prima facie* it suggests that two military communities had developed by the 1359-60 campaign: northern military elites were left at home to defend the Scottish border, whilst recruitment of armies transported to France was concentrated in the counties south of the Humber. It is noticeable that Northumberland and Cumberland are hardly represented in Figure 2.

It has long been recognised by historians of northern society in the fourteenth century, that the Scottish wars of Edward I were instrumental in the emergence of a 'northern nobility' in Cumberland and Northumberland.[132] The outbreak of hostilities

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[131] In total the landed and political interest of 98 of the 101 members of the first sample have been ascertained in comparison to 53 out of 94 of the second sample.

[132] J. A. Tuck, 'Northumbrian Society in the Fourteenth Century', *Northern History* 6 (1970): 22-39; J. A. Tuck, 'The Emergence of a Northern Nobility, 1250-1400', *Northern History* 22 (1986): 1-17;

between the kings of England and Scotland in 1295 placed an intolerable strain on the old cross-border families who had flourished during the relative peace of the thirteenth century. Many of these men held lands in England and Scotland and owed homage to both kings. The Scottish wars of Edward I forced these families to choose where their allegiances lay, and depending on which side they decided to support, their lands in either Scotland or England were forfeited by the Crown. The treaty of Northampton in 1328 and the subsequent failure of the 'disinherited' lords to force the claims of Edward Balliol in order to restore their Scottish estates in the 1330s, saw an end to cross-border land-holding. In England the redistribution of lands once belonging to families who had sided with the Scottish kings, along with the opportunities for wealth and political gain presented by military service and royal office holding on the March, led to a new generation of families rising to dominate both Northumberland and Cumberland.[133] As J. A. Tuck correctly asserted: 'power and influence in Northumberland were now [by 1317] coming to lie not with the old landholding families of knightly or baronial rank, but with those individuals and families who held the Crown offices which the militarization of the border had created. Power now lay with the keepers of castles, the wardens of the Marches, and the military captains.'[134]

This shift in the balance of power was apparent right from the beginning of the wars in Scotland, and many of the men who served on the Caerlaverock campaign became increasingly prominent in the Northern March. Some of those men who held lands in Northumberland and Cumberland illustrated in Figure 1, already had landed interests in this region, but the wars of the 1290s and early fourteenth century allowed them to build a political base on the March. The most famous example of this is the Percy family who, with the purchase of Alnwick Castle in 1310, moved their political base northwards from Topcliffe in the North Riding to Northumberland. The advance of the Percy family as a result of military service in Scotland during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century has been analysed in depth elsewhere and needs little repetition here;[135] but other families were also able to rise to prominence in the North East as a result of military service in

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A.J. Tuck, 'Richard II and the Border Magnates', *Northern History* 3 (1968): 27-52; J. A. Tuck, 'War and Society in the Medieval North', *Northern History* 21 (1985): 33-52; A. Tuck, 'The Percies and the Community of Northumberland in the Later Fourteenth Century', in A. Goodman and A. Tuck (eds.), *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), pp.178-94.

[133] Tuck, 'Northumbrian Society', pp.24-33.

[134] Ibid, p.33.

[135] See for example, J. M. W. Bean, 'The Percies and their Estates in Scotland', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th Series 35 (1957): 91-99; J. M. W. Bean, 'The Percies' Acquisition of Alnwick', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th Series 32 (1954): 309-19; Tuck, 'Northumbrian Society', pp.32-4; Tuck, 'Emergence of the Northern Nobility', pp.10-13.

Edward I's reign. Walter Huntercombe's family's main landed interests lay in Oxfordshire (where the family name originated), Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire.[136] However, through his mother Isabel, daughter and co-heiress of Robert Muschamp, Walter had a claim to half share of the Muschamp barony.[137] In addition to this his marriage to Alice, one of the four daughters of Hugh Bolbec, gave him a quarter share of the Bolbec barony which he held at his death. Although the Huntercombe family's interests in the North were only recently acquired, Walter played an important part in the administration of the North during the 1290s. Between 1296 and 1298 he was governor of Edinburgh Castle and sheriff of Edinburgh, Linlithgow and Haddington.[138] He was also appointed Captain of Northumberland in 1298 and *Custodi Parcium Marchie* for the county of Northumberland in 1302.[139] Thus, whilst a relative newcomer to Northumbrian society, he was able to rise to a position of authority in a short time, facilitated by the unstable conditions created on the Scottish border. His importance in the region is perhaps indicated by the fact that he was in receipt of robes of the royal household in 1306 and 1307, presumably a reflection of his ability to assert royal influence in the North.[140]

In the Western March, predominantly comprising the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, Robert Clifford was probably the most prominent man to make his mark through military and administrative service. The Clifford family held lands around Tenbury on the Welsh March in the thirteenth century and was heavily involved in the Welsh wars of the 1270s and 1280s. Indeed, Robert's father Roger had drowned in November 1282 whilst trying to cross the Menai Straits.[141] Through Roger's marriage in 1291 to Isabel, daughter and co-heiress of Robert Vipont, Robert Clifford inherited the Castles of Brougham and Appleby-in-Westmorland and the hereditary shrivalty of that county. With a base already established in the North, Clifford rose to prominence during the Scottish wars, being made warden or Keeper of the West March six times between 1296 and 1311, and he was also made governor of Caerlaverock Castle after its capture in 1300.[142] In order to bolster Clifford's position in the North, Edward I granted him the manor of Skelton in Cumberland

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[136] *CIPM*, 5: no.403.

[137] *GEC*, 6: 632-3.

[138] Ibid., p.633.

[139] M. J. Boyle, 'Early History of the Wardens of Marches Towards Scotland, 1296-1377', Unpublished M. A. Thesis (University of Hull, 1980), Appendix 4: pp.315, 317.

[140] Ingamells, 'Household Knights', Appendix I.

[141] J. W. Clay, 'The Clifford Family', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 18 (1905): 356.

[142] Boyle, 'Early History of the Wardens of the Marches', Appendix 4: pp.314-19; N. H. Nicolas, *The Siege of Carlaverock*, p.87.

and Edward II granted him Skipton Castle in 1310 extending Clifford influence into Yorkshire.[143]

Ralph Fitzwilliam's main landed interests were in Yorkshire.[144] However, through his mother he had claims to the Greystoke barony in Westmorland of which he was enfeoffed in 1297. Through his mother he also received a moiety of the Manor of Morpeth in Northumberland and in 1297 he also received the manor of Coniscliffe in Durham.[145] At the same time as Fitzwillam received these lands he was becoming increasingly involved in the defence and administration of the North, being made captain of Northumberland in 1297 and subsequently holding office in both the West and East Marches on eight occasions between 1298 and 1316.[146] To these examples we can add Brian Fitzalan of Bedale, Robert Fitzroger, John Huddleston and Thomas Multon of Egremont all of whom held lands in Northumberland and Cumberland and found their position in the political society of the region bolstered by service as Wardens of the Marches. These lords either held lands or claims to lands in Northumberland and Cumberland before the outbreak of war; their rise in local society was accelerated and bolstered by the holding of royal office in the increasingly militarised North. However some families established themselves in the March purely as a result of the wars in Scotland.

War in Scotland brought other families north and carved out estates in the borders, sometimes far away from their ancestral lands. For example, Simon Montagu, a banneret from the West Country, was granted estates in Cumberland thanks to his involvement in the Scottish wars.[147] Betrand Montbourcher, a Breton knight in the retinue of John of Brittany during the Caerlaverock campaign, was granted the manor of Syhale in Northumbria by his lord, and established a new English branch to the Montbourcher clan. His grandson was known as Bertram Montbourcher of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.[148] Some families, however, failed to take root. John St. John senior was one of Edward I's most important lieutenants in the North.[149] In order to boost the landed interests of St. John in this region, Edward I

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[143] Clay, 'The Clifford Family', p.357; *CPR*, 1307-13, p.220.

[144] *CIPM* 6: nos. 50 and 125.

[145] *GEC*, 5: 513-5.

[146] Boyle, 'Early History of the Wardens of the Marches', Appendix 4: pp.314-22.

[147] Montagu was appointed as a captain of the fleet and was heavily involved in pursuing Edward I's enemies off the west coast of Scotland in 1306-7. *CDS*, 2: nos. 1889, 1941. His lands in Cumberland would have provided a useful base for him while he carried out this task.

[148] Brault, *The Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, 2: 298.

[149] F. Watson, *Under the Hammer: Edward I and Scotland, 1286-1307* (East Linton, 1998), pp.98-100; Boyle, 'Early History of the Wardens of the Marches', pp.73, 316.

granted him 1,000 marks until he could gain lands of the equivalent value in Galloway.[150] However, St. John died later in 1302 and his son never enjoyed the same trust that Edward placed in his father, and any claims to lands in Galloway were never pursued.

Thus, many of the men who served on the 1300 campaign gained influence in the Marches of Scotland which can be mainly attributed to royal patronage in return for military and administrative service. This was a key characteristic of the northern nobility, which emerged from the dislocation caused by the wars of the 1290s and early fourteenth century. If this period was crucial in the creation of what we might call a 'new nobility' in the North, then it may also have been crucial in the formation of a military community in that region, which in some ways operated independently from the military community in the rest of England. If we turn again to a comparison of Figures 1 and 2, Edward I seems to have been able to recruit military elites from across the map. It was not only the men who held lands in the North who were well represented on this campaign. There is a strong presence from the South West counties of Somerset and Wiltshire, as well as Northamptonshire and the eastern counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex.

However, a less significant pattern of recruitment is apparent for the 1359-60 sample. Admittedly, fewer members of this sample held lands in the North of England, which presents a *prima facie* case for the northern military elites remaining in England to protect the northern border whilst others took the war across the Channel. The 1359-60 campaign took place against a backdrop of seemingly harmonious relations between the kings of England and Scotland, with a truce in place which lasted until 1384. Nonetheless, H. Summerson has drawn our attention to the fact that border raiding and local skirmishing were still endemic throughout this period, which meant that the border had to be protected.[151] All the same, it is more likely that the changing methods in recruiting armies during the reign of Edward III, and the sampling technique used in this thesis have meant that the true numbers of military men recruited from this region has been hidden from view. Many members of the northern military community will have served in the large retinues of the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Lancaster and Henry Percy, all of whom recruited extensively in Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire and Northumberland.

Moreover, closer analysis of the counties in which the largest number of the 1359-60 sample held lands is not particularly revealing. In Wiltshire, Buckinghamshire, Norfolk and Suffolk, a total of 30 men, or just under a third of the whole 1359-60 sample, held lands in these four counties. Very few of these men can be considered as being 'from' these counties. Wiltshire provides a good example. A total of thirteen men from our sample held

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[150] Boyle, 'Early History of the Wardens of the Marches', p.67; *CDS*, 2: no.1153.

[151] H. Summerson, 'Responses to War: Carlisle and the West March in the Later Fourteenth Century', in Goodman and Tuck (eds.), *War and Border Society*, pp.155-77; Tuck, 'War and Society', pp.33-52.

lands in Wiltshire, but only the Earls of Warwick, the Duke of Lancaster, Edmund Langley, and the Earls of Salisbury and Stafford held more than two manors in this county; [152] and, with the exception of perhaps the Earl of Salisbury, none of these earls can be considered as having their main power-base and landed interests in the South West. The same is true of the men of non-comital rank holding small parcels of land in Wiltshire: John and Reginald Cobham's main interests lay in Kent, Edward Despenser's in Gloucestershire and the Welsh Marches, John Beauchamp of Holt's in Worcestershire and Warwickshire, Michael Poynings's in Sussex and Kent, and William de la Zouche's in Northamptonshire.[153] In fact, taking these four counties together, only three men can really be considered as residents of those counties: Reginald Grey of Ruthin's main landed interests lay in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordhire; Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk's main landholding interests were in Norfolk and Suffolk; and the household esquire John Herling was from Norfolk.[154]

What the landholding patterns for the 1359-60 sample do seem to illustrate is that the captains for this campaign were drawn from across the whole of England south of a line running from the Severn to the Humber Estuary and the Welsh Marches. After all, this was a major campaign, with perhaps as many as 10,000 men crossing the Channel with the king, of whom 3,000 were men-at-arms (700 of theses were bannerets and knights).[155] In order to recruit so many aristocratic combatants in particular, Edward III had to tap into the recruitment networks of captains the length and breadth of the country. This widespread geographical reach is reflected in the recruitment of the household bannerets for this campaign. Edward Despenser's centre of power (as we have seen) lay in Gloucestershire and the Welsh Marches; Guy Brian's ancestral lands lay in the South West and he held land in Gloucestershire in right of his wife;[156] Reginald Cobham and John Cobham were leading members of the Kentish aristocracy; Ralph, Lord Bassett of Drayton, held many landed interests in the East Midlands and Staffordshire;[157] Michael Poynings's landed interests were in Sussex and Kent; William de la Zouche's in Northamptonshire; Reginald Grey of

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[152] *CIPM*, 12: no.326 (Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, d.1369); *CIPM*, 18: nos.489-527 (Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, d.1401); *CIPM*, 11: no.118 (Lancaster); *CIPM*, 18: nos.626-42 (Langley); *CIPM*, 13: no.210 (Stafford); *CIPM*, 17: nos.854-74 (Salisbury).

[153] *CIPM*, 19: nos.363-6 (John Cobham); *CIPM*, 11: no.59 (Reginald Cobham); *CIPM*, 14: no.209 (Despenser); *GEC*, 2: 45; *DNB*, 4: 590 (Beauchamp of Holt); *CIPM*, 12: no.404 (Poynings); *CIPM*, 15: no.630-49 (de la Zouche).

[154] *CIPM*, 16: no.691-7 (Grey); *CIPM*, 12: no.424 (Ufford); *CIPM*, 15: no.797 (Herling).

[155] Ayton, 'English Armies in the Fourteenth Century', p.28.

[156] *CIPM*, 16: no.959-62.

[157] *CIPM*, 16: nos.963-75.

Ruthin's in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire; Nicholas Burnell's in Shropshire;[158] Almeric St. Amand's in Berkshire and Bedfordshire;[159] John Beauchamp of Warwick's in Warwickshire;[160] and Thomas Ughtred's in Yorkshire.[161] Thus, it was the intention of Edward III in retaining these knights in the household to spread his recruitment net as far as possible. They were able to bring men from their own localities with them on campaign as well as attracting professional soldiers. In this way the recruitment methods of the household represent a microcosm of the recruitment methods of the whole army.

Conclusion

A strong case can be made for considering the men of the sample as forming part of a military community. They marked themselves out as different from other groups in society through their shared career patterns in military service and the leadership they fulfilled in war. This community was able to incorporate within itself differences in status or economic wealth. William Danvers, a household esquire, brought only one other man-at-arms and two archers with him on the 1359-60 campaign: however he was just as much a part of this community as Henry Grosmont, Duke of Lancaster, who led a retinue totalling over a thousand men. Both had been present on the defining campaigns of Edward III's reign: from Edward III's first unsuccessful campaign in Cambrésis and Thiérache in 1338-39, through to the miraculous victories at Crécy and Calais in 1346-47, and both were present as Edward III's great army of 1360 passed in front of the walls of Paris.[162]

The participation rates for the eleven campaigns surveyed show that the men in the 1300 sample served on an average of 2.3 out of a possible 4.5 campaigns, and for the 1359-6 sample 2.4 out of 5.2 campaigns. Thus on average the entire sample served on about half the campaigns in which they were available for service: a fairly high ratio. This figure is also likely to be an underestimate, as the sources required to reconstruct military service are not always comprehensive, and some men's participation may not have been recorded on every campaign. It also does not take into account the numerous opportunities for service in Scotland and France beyond the major campaigns of the reigns of Edward I and Edward III. For example, in the reign of Edward I, some men attached to the household would have gone on the expedition to Flanders in 1297 and a large part of the military establishment was charged with holding and garrisoning the towns and castles of Scotland between 1297-1307.

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[158] *CIPM*, 15: nos.719-29.

[159] *CIPM*, 15: nos.581-6.

[160] *CIPM*, 10: no.628.

[161] *GEC*, 12, pt.2: 158.

[162] See Appendix II for campaign records of Lancaster and Danvers.

Edward III's reign also provided many opportunities for a military career. This survey has not included the campaigns led by the king's lieutenants in France and the campaigns led by the Black Prince. Some members of our sample will have served in campaigns to Gascony under the Duke of Lancaster (1345) and the Black Prince (1355-6), and the Black Prince's major expedition to Spain in 1367.

The wars in France and Scotland from the mid 1290s allowed some of the members of our sample to carve out a career in military service. From the 1300 sample, men such as John Hastings, Robert Tony, Robert Clifford, Maurice Berkeley and John Beauchamp of Hatch made the long trip north into Scotland time and again in the reign of Edward I and formed an experienced core to the English cavalry.[163] Likewise, William Bohun, Earl of Northampton, Reginald Cobham, Guy Brian, John Beauchamp of Holt (senior), Thomas Mussenden, John Potenhale, Michael Poynings and Richard de la Vache, and many others turned out time and again to do service in Edward III's continental campaigns.[164] Although they may have differed in terms of their social status and economic resources, they formed the experienced core of the armies of Edward I and Edward III.

However, the idea of a military community expands far beyond a statistical analysis of how often men served on campaigns together. First of all it must be recognised that military service provided a forum for social interaction and the creation of ties of friendship and the forming of alliances. As Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate, the military community was composed of men from all corners of England. Men who may not have come into contact with each other under any other circumstances were drawn together in military service. This is apparent in the retinue of the Earl of Warwick for the 1346 Crécy campaign. Two of the members of our sample served the earl as bannerets on this campaign: Thomas Ughtred, whose lands lay exclusively in Yorkshire, and Almeric St. Amand, whose territorial base lay in the counties of Berkshire and Bedfordshire. Warwick contracted these men because of their professional skill as soldiers and their ability to bring substantial numbers of experienced knights and esquires into his retinue. It is also likely that the reputation that these men gained through military service helped to advance their careers. By 1359-60 both men had caught the king's eye and had been retained in the royal household. Ughtred and St. Amand also had an opportunity to benefit from any patronage that Warwick and the king could pass their way. They would not have received this opportunity had they not devoted part of their careers to military service. As Andrew Ayton has pointed out, military service provided an 'unrivalled opportunity' for making contact with the great men of the realm. This led to the great potential for profit through retainers' fees, annuities and administrative

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[163] See Appendix II.

[164] See Appendix III.

appointments, which promised a regular income and were far more valuable than the capricious windfalls of any booty or ransom that may come their way through military service.[165] The men who served in the royal household on these campaigns had unique access to the king. Guided by the royal hand, men such as Eustace Hatch, John Botetourt, Guy Brian and Reginald Cobham were raised from relative obscurity to baronial status.

Moreover, military service could also affirm more local ties. Robert Clifford's retinue for the 1300 campaign was composed of his neighbours and relatives. Similarly, Michael Poynings attracted men who held lands near him in Sussex and Kent into his retinue. In Poynings's case, three of the men who served in his retinue would also serve with Michael, his son, on judicial commissions in Sussex. Thus their leadership in the military community was transferred to their leadership of county society.

Membership of the military community was also a state of mind: a matter of collective identity. As we will see in Chapter 5, membership of the military community was represented in the sepulchral monuments of the members of our sample in knight effigies and military brasses. Furthermore, the heraldic banners which were displayed on the battlefield in order to identify disparate troops had meaning far deeper than a military symbol alone. They represented family, history, ownership and status and when used in conjunction with the heraldry of other families and individuals they could be used to advertise association and kinship. Military service permeated the culture of the medieval aristocracy. As we shall see in Chapter 4, skill in arms was an important marker for social esteem, and social mobility could be achieved through prowess just as much as it could be through the accumulation of lands and administrative service. But this is to anticipate. For now it is enough to recognise that the military community existed as much as a cultural construct, as one defined by collective activity and shared career patterns.

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[165] Ayton, 'War and the English Gentry', p.38.

Chapter 2

A Political and Administrative Community?

The previous chapter examined the idea that the constituents of our sample formed a community through the fulfilment of their role as a military elite. As captains in the campaigns in Scotland and France these men provided the necessary manpower and leadership for the prosecution of warfare during the reigns of the three Edwards. In fulfilling this role, it was suggested that they were party to a collective experience that to some extent cut across social status and, at the same time, marked these men out as a distinct social group in English society in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This chapter will assess the idea that the collective experiences of their careers in political, judicial and administrative service indicate membership of a political and office-holding community.

In order to establish who formed the political community in late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England, one must first look at those who were in regular attendance upon the king. The medieval monarch was at the centre of all political activity on a 'national' level. As A. L. Brown succinctly put it: 'Government was his [the king's] government; it was conducted in his name and he took most of the important and surprisingly many of the less important day-to-day decisions.'[1] In doing so the king relied on the advice of those who surrounded him. At the most immediate level he could take counsel from members of his household, the members of the king's personal staff with whom he would have contact on a daily basis. During the thirteenth century however, the royal council emerged as an important advisory body, and it is here that our search for a political community begins.

Council and Counsel

It is clear that members of the council were close to the king and were some of the most politically important men of the realm. However, identifying members of the council from the sample is not a precise science. F. W. Maitland believed that councillors could be identified from those who witnessed royal charters.[2] This view has received tentative support by Richard Huscroft for the reign of Edward I. Until the death of Robert Burnell in 1292 the chancery remained very much part of the royal household. Thus, those of higher rank at court could witness charters issued from the chancery at the time they were drafted. In Huscroft's opinion: 'Throughout the reign, there is a clear tendency for the core element

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[1] A.L. Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England, 1272-1461* (London, 1989), p.5.

[2] F. W. Maitland, 'History from the Charter Roll', in H. A. L. Fisher (ed.), *The Collected Essays of Sir Frederic Maitland*, 2 vols. (London, 1911) 2: 299; Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter', pp.35-6.

of the witness lists to be made up of the king's most intimate advisors and servants.'[3] Until the early years of the fourteenth century the boundaries between members of the court and members of the council are rather blurred. The establishment of the chancery 'out of court', with its permanent home in Westminster, brings the membership of the council into sharper focus as it reveals only the names of those who were regular in attendance at the council in Westminster.[4]

Nonetheless, doubts have been raised as to the ability of royal charter witness lists to reveal members of the council. Comparisons between the dates and locations of certain witnesses and their known itineraries have produced inconsistencies. For example, J. R. Wright found that out of the 308 occasions that Archbishop Reynolds appeared as a witness in charters between 1314-27, seventeen were at variance with Reynold's known movements charted in more reliable sources such as the bishop's register.[5] Although the number of inconsistencies is small, the argument could be made that some witness lists are fictional, with witnesses included on grounds of status rather than by their physical presence. However, Chris Given-Wilson has persuasively argued that despite this problem, witness lists can still be used as a reliable guide to identify members of the council. He states that after the chancery had been established at Westminster, a charter would be dated on the day that it was authorised by the privy seal, and was then held until men of 'sufficient status' were present at the chancery to witness it. Thus the date of the charter need not reflect the date that it was witnessed. The men of 'sufficient status' appearing on the witness lists would be those who were most often in attendance on the king at Westminster, namely the council.[6]

Bearing these provisions in mind, the witnessing of charters is still the best guide for identifying members of the sample who served in the royal council, or at the very least to identify those who were regularly in close attendance on the king. The percentages of charters witnessed by the members of our sample between 1274 and 1399 are fully listed in Appendix IV:[7] however a summary of this information is included in Table 2.1 below. In order to gauge the social composition of the council, Table 2.1 has been divided into those

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[3] Huscroft, 'Charter Witness Lists', p. x.

[4] Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter', p.44.

[5] J. R. Wright, *The Church and the English Crown: A Study Based on the Register of Archbishop Walter Reynolds* (Toronto, 1980), pp.365-7; Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter', pp.37-8.

[6] Ibid., pp.40-2.

[7] There are no royal charters rolls for the years 1272-73 and 1287-88 whilst Edward I was absent from the realm.

who attended council as earls, barons and members of the household.[8] In his study of members of the council in the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, Given-Wilson only included those men who had witnessed at least five charters during this period and the same principle has been followed in Appendix IV and Table 2.1.[9] Therefore the table includes those who may be considered as being members of the council at some stage in each reign. It does not, however, take into account fluctuations in membership of the council over the reign, which is a particularly apparent trait during the politically turbulent reign of Edward II.[10] The final column shows the percentage of the whole sample that can, at some point in their careers, be considered as a member of the council. During the reign of Edward III three members of the 1300 sample appear as regular witnesses in the early years of the reign and have thus been separated out from the members of the 1359-60 sample.

Table 2.1. Number of the Members of the Sample who Witnessed Charters (1274-1399)

Reign	Earls	Barons	Household	Percentage of entire sample who have witnessed charters
Edward I	8	19	18	45%
Edward II	8	18	11	37%
Edward III (1300 sample)	2	1	1	4%
Edward III (1359-60 sample)	11	1	4	18%
Richard II	4	0	2	6%

[8] Some of those who have been considered members of the council could appear in different categories. Not all those categorised as the members of the household from the 1300 sample were members of the household when they witnessed all of their charters. For reasons of clarity I have also categorised each member in the samples by the highest social rank each man achieved in each reign. For example, Hugh Despenser was created Earl of Winchester during the reign of Edward II and is counted as one of the earls. Ralph Monthermer is counted as the Earl of Gloucester during Edward I's reign but after he lost this title on the death of his wife in 1307, he is counted as a baron for Edward II's reign.

[9] Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter ', p.60.

[10] See Appendix IV.

The inclusion of the members of our sample in royal charter witness lists, summarised in Table 2.1, reflects changing trends in the composition of charter witness lists during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and has consequences as to whether we can consider royal charter witness lists as a reliable guide in identifying members of the king's council. From the 1270s until the mid 1290s very few of the 1300 sample appeared as witnesses. This is mainly as a result of the members of the sample being in their youth during these decades. During this period only six members of the sample appear as regular witnesses. Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln and John Warenne, Earl of Surrey, were senior members of the titled nobility and can be seen as members of Edward I's intimate circle of advisors. The other four were members of Edward I's household. William Latimer was a long-standing servant of the crown, having gone on crusade with the then Prince Edward in 1270 and then continuously serving in the household as a knight and later banneret from 1277 until at least 1300, which was the last occasion he received robes and fees.[11] John St. John was also a long-standing household knight: first receiving fees in 1285-6.[12] He was also a trusted administrator and advisor, continually with the king in Gascony between 1286-89 and serving as seneschal of Gascony 1295-97; in 1301 he was also appointed the king's lieutenant in Scotland.[13] Between 1289 and 1293, St. John appeared on no less than 22% of charter witness lists. The other two regular witnesses before the mid 1390s were Eustace Hatch, who had risen from a household esquire in 1276 to banneret status by 1299, witnessing 42% of royal charters in 1282-3, 37% in 1283-4 and 22% in 1290-1; and Walter Beauchamp who during his tenure of the stewardship (1289-1303) witnessed on average 70% of all charters.[14]

Chris Given-Wilson and J. S. Hamilton have explored the presence of the steward in charter witness lists.[15] Their comment that the steward was a member of the royal council *ex officio*, is backed up by the evidence of our sample. For example, John Cromwell witnessed on average 90% of charters whilst steward (July 1314-November 1316),[16] but witnessed an average of only 7% for the rest of the reign. Similarly Guy Brian, steward between August 1359 and May 1361, witnessed an average of 65% of charters between 1359-61, including

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[11] Ingamells, Appendix I. Latimer senior's career is summarised in, Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, 5:20-3.

[12] Ingamells, Appendix I.

[13] For St. John's career, see Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, 4:275-77; *GEC*, 11:326-7.

[14] Walter Beauchamp was joint steward with John Montalt and Peter Cahuvent until 1294 when he assumed the role of sole steward until 1303. M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988), p.145.

[15] Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter', p.41; Hamilton, 'Charter Witness Lists', p.4.

[16] Hamilton, 'Charter Witness Lists', p.11. n.41.

all twelve charters in 1360. In the following four years, after he had relinquished his office, the average number of charters Brian witnessed fell to 28%. This is indicative of the unparalleled access to the king that the holder of this office gained and may explain why the stewards were often the focus of complaint from other members of the aristocracy. The author of the *Song of Caerlaverock* acidly remarked that Walter Beauchamp was: 'a knight who would have been one of the best of all, according to my opinion, if he had not been too proud and rashly insolent, but you never hear anyone talk of the steward without a "but"'.[17]

The period 1297-1307 saw a dramatic change in the number of members of the 1300 sample appearing in witness lists. In the regnal year 27 Edward I (1298-9), 32 members of the sample witnessed charters and this rose to 37 in 28 Edward I (1299-1300). During these years Edward I's attention was firmly fixed upon the war in Scotland. Not only would these men be more likely to follow the peripatetic court during this period than perhaps some of Edward I's more 'natural' counsellors, but it is also likely that Edward would have drawn upon them for advice when the main concerns of the government were martial rather than civilian. Huscroft has noted that between June 1303 and October 1304 no prelates appear as charter witnesses, and from my own figures the most regular witnesses in this period are the Earls of Surrey, Lincoln, Lancaster, Gloucester, Richmond, Hereford and Essex and Warwick; Robert de la Warde (steward); important military captains such as Hugh Despenser, Aymer Valence and John Segrave; and two northern barons: Henry Percy and William Ros. It seems that a combination of removal of the court from its usual haunts and the needs of military strategy determined the composition of the council in this year.[18]

In all 47% of the 1300 sample appear on the royal charter witness lists of Edward I's reign. This number falls to 37% for the reign of Edward II, a reduction we might expect due to several of the sample dying before 1307. However, this relatively high headline figure hides some important changes in the names of the men being included in the witness lists. Two main themes emerge from the lists between 1307 and 1317. The first is that the composition of the names tends to reflect the political currents of this turbulent period. These trends are exemplified by comparing the inclusion of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster and Hugh Despenser as witnesses between 1312-6.[19] Another noticeable aspect of the witness lists of the early part of Edward I's reign is that the names of those witnessing charters changed with the relocation of the royal court. In 1310-1 Edward spent a great deal of time in the North launching the first of several unsuccessful campaigns against the Scots. Whilst Edward was based in York several of the Northern barons from our sample appear regularly

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[17] Nicolas, *Siege of Caerlaverock*, p.30.

[18] Huscroft, 'Charter Witness Lists', p.ix. See also, Appendix IV.

[19] See, Appendix IV; Hamilton, 'Charter Witness Lists', pp.5-6.

in the witness list: noticeably Henry Percy, William Ros and William Vavasour, who all had landed interests in Yorkshire. Moreover Philip Kyme only appears on witness lists in charters that Edward II granted in Kyme's home county of Lincolnshire. If charter witness lists can be considered as reliable guides to the council during this period, then we can conclude that this was a rather amorphous and flexible intuition that changed in its composition depending on the location of the court and those who were in favour at court.

From 1317 a very different pattern of witnessing emerges. The number of witnesses is fewer than in the period 1307-17 and the list of names becomes far more regular and stable. Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, Aymer Valence, Earl of Pembroke and Bartholomew Badlesmere emerge as regular witnesses between 1317-21, until Bohun and Badlesmere abandoned Edward II's cause and threw in their lot with Lancaster.[20] After 1322 few members of the sample witness charters. Aymer Valence continues as a regular witness until his death in 1324, but it is Edward II's favourites and the Despenser's allies who dominate the composition of witness lists between 1321 and 1326.[21] The smaller number and the increasing stability of the names appearing on the witness lists observed from the period 1317-26 are also perceptible for the reign of Edward III. Although the editor of the royal charter witness lists of Edward III and Richard II's reigns has argued that the real change in the composition of the witness lists occurs in the 1330s and 1340s, when the barons no longer feature regularly as witnesses and the earls and prelates dominate,[22] the lists between 1327-1337 were still far more stable than they had been during the reign of Edward I and the first half of the reign of Edward II. However, the number of members from our two samples in this period is rather under-represented, as most of the 1300 sample had died by this time and a majority of the 1359-60 sample were still in their youth. Over the whole of Edward III's reign all eleven men who attained comital rank appeared regularly on witness lists. Henry Percy is also a regular witness as are four barons who at one time served in the household during this period. Two of these were Guy Brian and John Cherleton, who regularly appeared in witness lists when they held the respective offices of steward and chamberlain. The other two were John Cobham and Edward Despenser who were both bannerets of the household in the middle of Edward III's reign and politically important barons in their own right.

The two major issues that arise from this review of the samples' participation in royal charter witness lists is whether witness lists provide an accurate guide to the composition of the council during this period, and if so, what can our samples' inclusion in

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[20] For other members of the sample who took up arms against Edward II, see below, p.134-5.

[21] J. S. Hamilton has also made this observation, Hamilton 'Charter Witness Lists', pp.5-6.

[22] Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter', p.54.

royal charter witness lists tell us about the nature of the council in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries?[23] A. L. Brown believed that the councils of the later Middle Ages developed, from a large and amorphous body in the reign of Edward I, to the more 'professional and self-contained' council which contained fewer, but more distinguished councillors, in the reign of Edward III.[24] Brown also noticed that, as the fourteenth century progressed, household officials (other than the steward and chamberlain) 'ceased to be councillors, except on rare occasions' and this statement seems to be supported by the evidence of our sample.[25] If royal charter witness lists can be considered a guide to the composition of royal councils, then in the reign of Edward I we can see that the composition of council fluctuated depending on the location of the court and the focus of royal policy. It seems that charters were witnessed by those men who were of sufficient status, and in the presence of the king, at the time the charters were granted. Thus, whilst the king was away on campaign in Scotland he was more likely to be in the presence of his household bannerets, earls and barons who gave regular military service or had specialist knowledge of border warfare, such as northern barons like Henry Percy, William Ros and Robert Clifford. A similar pattern can be seen in the first half of Edward II's reign where the composition of witness lists changed depending on the location of the court and the prominence of different political factions at the court during his turbulent reign. This points to a rather open and flexible council, which contained both an experienced core of counsellors, such as the earls and senior members of the household who moved around with the court, and men who were drafted in to give advice as the need arose or visited the court as it approached their home counties. During the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, and to a lesser degree in the second half of Edward II's reign, membership of the council seems to be much more prescribed: limited to those of comital rank, a small group of senior barons and household officials. Thus a strong case can be made that by the 1340s a more formal council had emerged with a more stable and regular membership, and a reduced number of barons and members of the household.

We must beware, however, of placing too much emphasis on the apparent structural changes in the membership of the council. What we could be observing is a change in practice of assembling witness lists in chancery noted by Given-Wilson.[26] With the chancery taking permanent residence 'out of court', charters were held and witnessed only when men of sufficient status were at Westminster to witness them. Moreover, from the

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[23] In the following discussion the role of the clergy is omitted, as this group do not for part of the sample we are interested in. Instead only the role of the king's secular advisors will be considered.

[24] Brown, *Governance*, pp.31-4.

[25] Ibid., p.34.

[26] See above, pp.85-6.

reign of Edward III the whole of the council may not be included in the lists. Some members of our sample, particularly members of the household, may not have been considered of sufficient status to be included in the specific list of names of those who witness a charter, and they may be lost amongst the *et alii* at the end of the charter. Thus we cannot be too dogmatic about the reliability of witness lists in revealing the composition of council. Yet, what royal charter witness lists do reveal is the names of those who were in the king's immediate circle at particular times.[27] If not *councillors* in the sense that they were members of a governmental committee, these men were at least *counsellors* in an informal manner and involved in politics and government at the very highest level. Regularly in attendance at court, these men must certainly have felt that they were a part of a political community. Being a relatively small group, it is likely that they would have known each other intimately. Beyond attending to the business of government, court was also a great social occasion and many of the activities arranged to entertain the great and the good whilst at court must have reflected this group's cultural tastes and bound them together as a social group.

Parliament

The establishment of council as a form of consultation between the king and the political community was a keynote of the baronial reform movement of the mid-thirteenth century. The Provisions of Oxford also called for the representation of the community in parliaments to be held three times a year.[28] From these theoretical beginnings parliaments emerge from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries as a regular feature of the legislative process and were held on a regular basis. Although the parliaments from the early years of Edward I's reign are ill-documented, it appears that the magnates formed the bulk of those attending the early parliaments in a kind of great council. These early parliaments, held twice yearly at Easter and Michaelmas whenever possible, seem to have had an administrative character. During the later years of Edward I's reign, however, regular requests for taxation to fund the wars against Scotland and France changed the nature of parliament. Along with the requests for taxation came the need for consent from a wider cross-section of the political community.

From 1295 the names of all those summoned came to be recorded on the dorse side of the close rolls, allowing analysis of the composition of those who would come to form the

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[27] A point argued by Huscroft for the reign of Edward I. Huscroft, 'Charter Witness Lists', p.xv.

[28] Although the makeup of these suggested parliaments, with 15 of the king's councillors discussing the affairs of state with 12 magnates chosen by the community, resembles an expanded council rather than the parliaments from the reign of Edward I onwards. Prestwich, *English Politics*, pp.133-7; Brown, *Governance*, p.157.

House of Lords.[29] Although the early lists of those summoned fluctuate wildly in personnel and number (from 41 to 100),[30] in the twenty years following the death of Edward I the list had stabilised to around 50, and a lord could expect to be summoned to every parliament. Moreover, by the middle of the fourteenth century an hereditary principle had been established so that the eldest son would receive a summons to parliament on the death of his father.[31] The reign of Edward I also saw the establishment of the Commons as a political power in parliament. Before the 1290s representatives of the shires and boroughs had only infrequently been summoned to parliament. From 1295, with the odd exception, the sheriffs were ordered to send two knights from their shire and two representatives from each city or borough. The Commons, like the Lords, were expected to give their consent to taxes agreed in parliament and, in theory, bind the whole community of the realm to pay taxes agreed.[32] They also provided a forum for petitions to be presented to the king.

Parliament, therefore, provided an opportunity for members of our samples to participate in the political process. A large percentage of both samples gained some experience of parliament throughout their careers. From the 1300 sample 74 out of 101 received individual summonses and four were elected knights of the shire.[33] From the 1359-60 sample 23 men received individual summonses and eleven were elected knights of the shire.[34] That 73% of the first sample received individual summonses to parliament, compared to 27% of the second sample, is not quite as surprising as it may first seem. As we have already noted, the selection of the lords attending parliament was rather 'haphazard' in the years leading up to the siege of Caerlaverock, and the method of selecting the barons attending parliament could have created a bias towards those mentioned in the *Song of Caerlaverock*. Powell and Wallis have hypothesised that the names of the original 53 barons summoned to the August 1295 parliament were also the names of those summoned to military service. Indeed there was a precedent: 'In 1283, for example, those summoned for

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[29] The only parliaments for which a list of those summoned does not survive are the parliaments of July 1297, Easter 1298, May 1324 and the parliament of 1478. Powell and Wallis, *House of Lords*, p.219.

[30] Ibid., pp.229-31.

[31] Brown, *Governance*, pp.179-81.

[32] Ibid., pp.185-7.

[33] See Appendix V. Note that John de la Mare was elected as knight of the shire for Hereford in 1298 before receiving an individual summons in 1299.

[34] See Appendix VI. Thomas Ughtred was returned as a knight of the shire for Yorkshire in 1330 and 1332 before being raised to the peerage in 1344. John Beauchamp of Holt was returned as knight of the shire for Worcestershire in 1377 (twice) and 1380 (twice). He was made a baron by writ in 1387, although he did not take his seat before his execution in 1388.

[military] service were afterwards summoned to parliament.'[35] Furthermore, in 1297, 1298 and 1299 the barons had been summoned to parliament with 'horse and arms'.[36] Powell and Wallis surmise that for the reign of Edward I:

> A list of addressees compiled for one purpose was used again, with or without alteration, in different circumstances; a military list was made to do duty for parliamentary summons and *vice versa*. In fact, as long as a chance selection of fifty to a hundred of the sort of substantial people who were regularly called on for service had been summoned, that was good enough for parliamentary purposes.[37]

In this respect it is not surprising that a large percentage of those summoned for service in Scotland in 1300 had already been called up for parliamentary service at some time during the preceding five years. In fact 62 of the 74 men from the 1300 sample received summonses between 1295-9. As those receiving summonses to the parliaments of the 1290s were largely the same as those receiving summonses for military service, it is not surprising that a large percentage of the men present on the Caerlaverock campaign had already received summonses to parliament, as they were senior military captains during the late 1290s. The character of the men summoned to Edward III's parliaments was very different. In the intervening years parliament had developed radically as an institution.

Although a lack of sources impedes our understanding of parliamentary procedures in the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, by at least the 1340s those summoned to parliament, and those returned by their counties, boroughs and cities, met separately.[38] When parliament met at Westminster, which was often the case during the fourteenth century, the Lords would withdraw for discussions in the White Chamber and the Commons would remain in the larger Painted Chamber, after the opening of parliament.[39] This physical separation reflected the very real social distinction felt between those representing the Commons in parliament and those who were summoned to parliament, or, as they came to be known, the peers of the realm. Although the list of those summoned in the reign of Edward I may have been, as Powell and Wallis assert, '*ad hoc*' and fluctuating in number,

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[35] Powell and Wallis, *House of Lords*, p.227.

[36] Ibid., p.228.

[37] Powell and Wallis, *House of Lords*, p.231.

[38] Powell and Wallis, *House of Lords*, p.328-9. Brown, *Governance*, p.173-4.

[39] During the later fourteenth century the Commons also assembled in the Chapterhouse of Westminster Abbey. J.G. Edwards, *The Creighton Lecture in History 1957. The Commons in Medieval English Parliaments* (London, 1958), Note A, pp.25-7; G.L. Harriss, 'The Formation of Parliament, 1272-1377', in R. G. Davies and J. H. Denton (eds.) *The English Parliament in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1981), pp.37-40

by 1359-60 the names of those receiving a summons had become set and to a large degree hereditary. New additions to the Lords were rare, and significant numbers of new peers were only summoned when the number of existing peers had fallen to low levels through extinction of family lines. Subsequently the numbers summoned to the parliaments of Edward III were smaller than in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.[40] Moreover, such was the level of social identity imparted by an individual summons that distinctions were made between the 'old' families who received hereditary summonses and the newcomers who were usually styled bannerets rather than barons.[41] The growing exclusiveness of the peerage is reflected in the smaller numbers of the 1359-60 sample being summoned. Only 26 ever received an individual summons and eleven of those were summoned as members of the titled nobility. Of the barons of parliament, most were summoned as the successors of established baronial families such as the Despensers, Bassets of Drayton, de la Zouches and St. Amands, whose forefathers had been involved in the high politics of the kingdom for generations. Of the new creations, John Beauchamp of Warwick was of distinguished birth, being the second son of the Earl of Warwick and a noted warrior, and Guy Brian had served in the household since the 1330s (serving as steward 1359-61), being a close friend of the king until they fell out in the 1360s.[42] However, his elevation to the baronage may have had more to do with his marriage in 1350 to Elizabeth Montacute, widow of Hugh, Lord Despenser (d.1349); it is possible that he was made a baron so that his status matched that of his well-born wife and the enormous wealth of the lands she brought to the marriage.[43]

Moving away from the parliamentary barons, the numbers of men returned to parliament as members of the Commons shows a reverse trend. Only four men from the 1300 sample were returned. John de la Mare represented Herefordshire in the parliament of 1298, a year before he received his first royal summons to parliament. Of the others, John Bassett was returned for Rutland three times between 1316 and 1324, John Deyncourt was returned four times as knight of the shire for Derbyshire between 1300 and 1320 and Richard de la Rokley represented Norfolk on six occasions between 1302 and 1316. From the 1359-60 sample a total of eleven sat in parliament as knights of the shire at some stage of their career. For these men, election to parliament could be a rare and fleeting experience. Of the eleven, four only sat once and a further three only sat twice. The most active participant, Roger Elmrugg, was returned for Oxfordshire seven times between 1361 and

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[40] Harriss, 'The Formation of Parliament', p.38.

[41] Brown, *Governance*, pp.180-1.

[42] Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp.156-7.

[43] *GEC*, 2: 361-2.

1371. The average number of times that members of the 1359-60 sample were elected to parliament is 2.5, which falls between the average number of 2.0 for the whole of the reign of Edward III, and the average of 2.9 that N. B. Lewis found for the reign of Richard II.[44]

The difference in the number of those returned to the Commons between the two samples may only reflect the different social composition of the two sample groups, with a majority of those drawn from *Song of Caerlaverock* being of banneret status or above, and thus more likely to receive an individual summons to parliament. Nonetheless, the fact that many more of the 1359-60 sample attended the Commons is suggestive of the growing importance of parliament in general, and the increasing prestige being accorded to election to the House of Commons. The attitude of sheriffs to the election of members clearly highlights the importance and possible benefits associated with parliament. Nigel Saul has observed that by the 1370s it was common for the sheriff to be elected knight of the shire.[45] From the 1359-60 sample, Roger Elmrugg served as sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire in 1360-2, 1365-8 and 1372. During his first two terms as sheriff he was returned as knight of the shire on four separate occasions. Thomas Moigne was also returned as a knight of the shire for Gloucestershire in 1361 and 1362 at the time that he was sheriff of that county.[46] It seems apparent that many sheriffs used their position to be returned to parliament. J. R. Maddicott has suggested that election to parliament was particularly beneficial for sitting sheriffs as they were able to suppress petitions which may have highlighted any of their misdoings.[47]

The reason why membership of the Commons was an attractive prospect, particularly for members of the 1359-60 sample, is associated to the developing powers of the Commons in the tax-raising and legislative process. The link between the need of the king to raise taxation and the growing powers of parliament is well known.[48] Once a parliament was called the Commons could not block a call for taxation, but they could

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[44] The figure for Edward III's reign is calculated from Table II in, K. L. Wood-Legh, 'The Knights' Attendance in the Parliaments of Edward III' *EHR* 47 (1932): 405; N. B. Lewis, 'Re-election to Parliament in the Reign of Richard II', *EHR* 48 (1933): 372-3.

[45] Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.122; see also, K. L. Wood-Leigh, 'Sheriffs, Lawyers and Belted Knights in the Parliaments of Edward III, *EHR* 46 (1931): 372-88. J. R. Maddicott has shown that sheriffs were affecting election to parliament from at least the 1330s and that sheriffs had been securing their own election as knights of the shire since 1302: J. R. Maddicott, 'Parliament and the Constituencies, 1272-1377', in Davies and Denton, *English Parliament*, pp.73-4, 77-8.

[46] Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.123.

[47] The practice of sheriffs being elected as knights of the shire for their counties was prohibited in 1372, but lapsed rather during the reign of Richard II. Maddicott, 'Parliament and the Constituencies', p.77.

[48] These developments are charted in depth by, G.L Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369* (Oxford, 1975).

negotiate the level of taxation and how this subsidy could be raised. For example, in 1380 the level of £160,000 suggested by the Lords was reduced after negotiations with the Commons to £100,000. In this case the Lords also suggested three methods for how this levy was to be raised and the Commons settled upon a poll tax, which would have drastic consequences when it was collected the following year.[49] Although the methods of raising and collecting taxation were important to the individuals attending parliament, as both they and their tenants were directly affected, these powers alone do not seem enough of an inducement for individuals actively to seek election. It was the opportunity to present petitions in parliament that made membership of the Commons an increasingly attractive proposition.

Members of the Commons may have had the ability to present petitions during the reign of Edward I, but they were of a very different character from those of Edward III's. Many of the early petitions were concerned with very localised disputes for which the king was to pass final judgement, and had little effect on the governance of the realm.[50] By the 1330s the number of petitions addressing single issues had been exceeded by the number of common petitions. These addressed the concerns of the whole constituency for which a knight represented. Whether they petitioned for redress for the oppressions of local office-holders, or for the better maintenance of law and order in the shire, members of parliament were now given a greater voice as representatives of the local communities.[51] This clearly brought many benefits both in terms of increasing one's political standing in the local community as well as carrying possible fiscal benefits. Members of parliament were able to petition on their own behalf, thus gaining direct access to the king's ear, or they could petition on behalf of others and it would be easy to speculate that they received a retainer for such a service.[52] Even simple attendance at parliament carried a small financial benefit, with the wages of a knight of the shire set in 1327 at 4s. a day, and 2s. a day for a representative of the boroughs and cities.[53]

What then were the social consequences for those attending parliament, and what effect did the growth of parliament as an important branch of medieval government have on the formation of a political community? In answering this question it is instructive to note the changing definition of the political community. During the baronial opposition to Henry III, the barons cast themselves as representatives of the community of the realm. Michael

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[49] Edwards, *The Commons in Medieval English Parliaments* (London, 1958), pp.20-2.

[50] Harriss, 'Formation of Parliament', pp.49-50.

[51] Maddicott, 'Parliament and the Constituencies', pp.61-88.

[52] Ibid., pp.76-8.

[53] Ibid., pp.78-9.

Prestwich has noted that the language of community of the realm begins to disappear in the fourteenth century at a time when parliament had become truly established with the inclusion of a wider based political community.[54] In 1312 the Ordainers had a different concept of a political community, agreeing to aid the king in granting a tax 'when they will have their peers more fully with them, and the community'. In the words of Michael Prestwich: 'The magnates were beginning to think of themselves as the peerage, and the Commons as the community.'[55]

This division between the Commons and Lords is reflective of the growing self-awareness within the two groups. We have already discussed the social implications of the developing parliamentary baronage. The establishment of an hereditary principle in the summons to parliament and the acquisition of special privileges, such as trial before one's peers, gave this group a high degree of coherence and it can be argued that by the mid fourteenth century the peerage can be seen as a social grade in itself, with the term 'peer of the realm' increasingly interchangeable with baron. By this time membership of the baronage was defined by the summons to parliament rather than on a tenurial basis. The social implication for membership of the Commons was very different. Although it can be doubted that lords attended on each occasion they were summoned,[56] the fact that they were summoned to each parliament gave them a certain corporate identity. For those returned as knights of the shire and representatives of cities and boroughs, attendance at parliament was a rare event: therefore the Commons' corporate identity came not from individuals meeting as a group, but through the institution of the Commons itself and the role it played in local political society. The members of the Commons, rather than being a political power in themselves, were representative of the political power of the local community. The election of MPs in the county court was an occasion for all those with a stake in the political process to discuss politics and choose somebody to represent their views and present petitions on behalf of the whole community.[57] Therefore the implications for the self-perception of a member of the Commons is related more to his position as leader of the local political community rather than a corporate identity forged through his assembly with other MPs.

We noted above that attendance at court was a great social occasion and it was likely that those who served together on campaign could affirm their ties whilst serving in the royal

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[54] M. Prestwich, 'Parliament and the Community of the Realm in Fourteenth Century England', in A. Cosgrove and J. I. McGuire (eds.) *Parliament and Community* (Belfast, 1983), pp.5-25.

[55] Prestwich, *English Politics*, pp.143-4.

[56] This issue is covered in depth by, J.S. Roskell, 'The Problem of Attendance of the Lords in Medieval Parliaments', *BIHR* 29 (1956): 153-204.

[57] J.R. Maddicott, 'The County Community and the Making of Public Opinion in Fourteenth-Century England', *TRHS*, 5th Ser. 28 (1978): 27-43.

council.[58] Whether parliament also acted as a great social occasion is less clear.[59] There is certainly evidence that the members of each house worked closely together in parliament, especially whilst discussing taxation. For the members of the Lords particularly it seems likely that they would have known each other personally, having met both through military service and their ties of kinship; attendance at parliament provided another social gathering. For the Lords, parliament provided an opportunity for political elites from shires across England to assemble in the same place and make political and social ties with men whom they may only have met before on military service due to their geographical separation. For members of the Commons parliament also offered an opportunity to ingratiate themselves with members of the higher nobility.

J. G. Edwards' study of 'intercommuning' in parliament highlights how both Lords and Commons could form close working relationships in parliament.[60] Although evidence for intercommuning in the fourteenth century is patchy to say the least, Edwards found several examples of it in the late fourteenth century. Expanding on this work W. N. Bryant has also found evidence of intercommuning in the 1340s and it seems likely that this practice existed from the time that Lords and Commons started to meet separately.[61] Edwards found that the size of the Lords' delegation was recorded on eleven occasions between 1352 and 1399 and ranged between five or six to 17. The most common number was twelve, drawn equally between bishops, earls and barons. The size of the Commons' delegation was only mentioned twice, but in 1378 six or ten was mentioned as customary.[62] The names of those forming the Commons' delegation are not mentioned in the Rolls of Parliament, but Edwards has listed the names of the Lords' delegation between 1373-84.[63] From our sample the earls of Salisbury, Warwick and the Duke of Lancaster formed part of the Lords' delegation four times during this period and the Earl of Cambridge was appointed twice. Of the barons, Guy Brian was appointed five times, John Cobham twice and Ralph Basset once. In November 1381 five members of our sample, the Duke of Lancaster, the Earl of Warwick, Guy Brian, Ralph Basset and John Cobham were all appointed to the Lords' delegation; working together in this way surely strengthened the ties between them through

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[58] See above, p.92.

[59] Although the case for it being so is put forward by J. R. Maddicott: 'Parliament was a social gathering, a season for conviviality, display, the exchange of news and the doing of business.' Maddicott, 'Parliament and the Constituencies', p.79.

[60] Edwards, *The Commons*, *passim*.

[61] W.N. Bryant, 'Some Earlier Examples of Intercommuning in Parliament, 1340-48', *EHR* 85 (1970): 54-8.

[62] Edwards, *The Commons*, p.8.

[63] Ibid., p.14, 31-35.

parliamentary service. It is also interesting to note that that by the 1370s the Commons chose the membership of the Lords' delegation, indicating that these men were both of great political standing and considered capable of forming working relationships with members of the Commons. It would also be plausible that the unnamed members of the Commons delegation were able to form ties with the lords whom they worked with through intercommuning, especially if they were regular members of the delegation. Intercommuning provides one tangible example of how parliament could forge and affirm social networks through political service.

Administrative and Judicial Service

The development of parliament during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is indicative of how the expansion of government presented opportunities for royal office-holding amongst the aristocracy and the formation of a political society. The period spanning the reign of the three Edwards and Richard II witnessed radical changes in the judicial system, with a greater amount of public authority being diffused into the localities. Appendices VII and VIII list the royal offices which each member of the sample held.

If we turn our attention first to those who held the office of sheriff, it is noticeable that, apart from the earls who held hereditary shrivalties, only 12 men from both of the samples added together held the office of sheriff. Of these, Robert Clifford held the shrivalty of Westmorland between 1298-1314 in right of his wife Iodena; and John Fitzmarmaduke (1275), Thomas Richmond (1310) and Robert Clifford (1314) held the shrivalty of Norhamshire. Both these counties lay on the marches of Scotland: these northern barons were probably appointed as much to organise the military defence of these counties as to provide administrative service. This may also be the case with the appointment of Bartholomew Badlesmere as sheriff of Glamorgan (1314-5), John Paynel in Carmarthenshire (1317-9) and Edward St. John in Caernarvonshire (1343-5). The first two were members of Edward II's household and were probably appointed as royal representatives in the politically unstable Welsh Marches. Of the others appointed to shrivalties Thomas Moigne in Gloucester (1360-3), John Potenhale in Hampshire (1360-1), Roger Elmrugg in Oxfordshire and Berkshire (1360-2, 1365-8, 1372-3) and William Baude in Essex (1370-1) form an interesting group. Nigel Saul has suggested that: 'A knight or esquire whose early years were passed in Scotland or France [on military service] would not take up local office until he had settled in the shires for good.'[64] Unlike appointment to commissions of the peace where a commissioner was not required to attend sittings,[65] the position of sheriff was extremely time-consuming and it would have been difficult to balance the holding of a

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[64] Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.56.

[65] See below, p.108.

shrivalty with a military career. There is perhaps a suggestion that Moigne, Potenhale, Elmrugg and Baude had been integrated into the political community after their period of military service was brought to an end by the peace of Bretigny in 1360. This may also be the reason why few men in our samples held the office of escheator. This was also a time-consuming office which only two men from our samples held. Leo Perton practically had a monopoly as escheator for Worcestershire, being appointed continuously between 1346 and 1368. Thomas Swynnerton was the escheator for Shropshire, Staffordshire and the Welsh March between 1341and 1343.

A significant number of men from our samples were also involved in mundane administrative tasks with appointments to commissions *de walliis de fossatis* and commissions of survey. Men such as John Cobham and Thomas Ughtred provided the necessary local knowledge to fulfil commissions *de walliis et fossatis*. Cobham had a very busy career in local administration and was appointed to six commissions *de walliis et fossatis* in Kent. Ughtred was active in his home county of Yorkshire serving on seven commissions between 1345 and 1360. Thomas Ughtred had a very long and distinguished military career culminating with the honour of being admitted to the Order of the Garter in 1365.[66] It is interesting to note that six out of his seven appointments to commissions *de walliis et fossatis* were between 1350 and 1360 when it seems as if he had retired from active military service. Indeed after the siege of Calais Ughtred only served on one further campaign: the Rheims campaign of 1359-60.[67] During the 1350s, Ughtred was also appointed to five commissions of the peace, four commissions of inquiry and a commission to survey the encroachment of the sea in Scarborough. Here we see a man who built his career upon military service and chivalric renown, virtually retiring to his estates and assuming his position as a great local lord, taking the lead in the administrative community of his shire by sitting on a raft of centrally appointed commissions. It is also interesting that a man of the standing of John of Gaunt was appointed to seven commissions *de walliis et fossatis* although it is more than likely that he appointed deputies to carry out the actual surveying work. In all, nine of the 1300 sample and fifteen of the later sample, or 12% of both samples, were appointed to commissions *de walliis et fossatis* at some stage of their

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[66] Ughtred's military career has formed part of a recent case study by Andrew Ayton. A. Ayton, 'Sir Thomas Ughtred and the Edwardian Military Revolution', in J. S. Bothwell (ed.), *The Age of Edward III* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp.107-32.

[67] Ibid. Appendix, p.132. The 1359-60 campaign attracted a large proportion of the political community as it was hoped at the outset that Edward III would be crowned as the King of France at Rheims Cathedral and it would be expected that as many of his leading subjects as possible would be present at this event. For Edward III's political and military aims at the outset of the 1359-60 campaigns, see McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, p.140; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p.407.

careers. This is testament to the importance of these commissions in maintaining the profitability of their estates.

Local knowledge was also necessary in many of the individual commissions of survey. For example Richard Ask, a prominent Yorkshire knight, was extremely active in his home shire during the 1360s, being appointed to sixteen commissions of *oyer* and *terminer*, five commissions of the peace, one commission of inquiry, two commissions of array and four commissions *de walliis et fossatis* during this period. This wealth of experience in local justice and administration made him a natural choice to head a commission to survey the manor of Faxfleet on the Humber Estuary. As we might expect, John Cobham was also prominent on commissions of survey and commissions to improve the defence and infrastructure of Kent. In 1360 he was appointed on a commission to repair a retaining wall on the Thames at Stone; in 1364 and 1369 he was appointed to survey the bridge at Rochester; in 1369 he was ordered to survey the Isle of Thanet and in 1380 he was appointed to a commission to survey the fortifications of various ports in Kent. The government relied on the local nobility, men such as Cobham, to head these very localised commissions which may not have been as politically important as sitting on judicial commissions, but needed to be done nonetheless.

Service on administrative commissions such as *de walliis et fossatis* draws our attention to some of the less heralded duties of the local aristocracy in local governance. Much more attention has been paid to their role in judicial commissions and the diffusion of royal authority to the aristocracy in the localities. The period covered by this study neatly encompasses over a century of experimentation by central government in the prosecution of justice at local level. At the beginning of Edward I's reign the eyre was still the principal agent of royal justice at shire level. It was staffed by centrally appointed itinerant judges operating on prescribed circuits. Visitations by the eyre were much feared and successful to a point, but the increased workload stimulated by the legal reforms of Edward I's reign proved too much for the eyre's justices to cope with alone. After the suspension of the general eyre of 1294, it ceased to be the primary method of providing justice in the localities and future eyres were only called on an *ad hoc,* county-by-county basis. The unsuccessful resurrection of the general eyre in 1330 effectively saw its end as a useful judicial tool in the shires. The century after the suspension witnessed greater inclusion of the titled nobility, barons, knights, esquires and centrally appointed local lawyers in judicial commissions. By the end of the century the principle agents of royal justice in the provinces were the justices of the peace, who would remain so for the following two centuries.[68]

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[68] An excellent overview in the changes in royal justice in the province is provided by: A. Musson and W. M. Ormrod, *The Evolution of English Justice: Law, Politics and Society in the Fourteenth Century* (Basingstoke and New York, 1999), pp.44-74.

The involvement of the members our sample in judicial commissions is summarised in Figures 3 to 6. Figure 3 shows the number of men (represented by the black bars) serving in at least one judicial commission a year, whether it be a commission of *oyer* and *terminer* or as a keeper/justice of the peace. The green bars on Figure 3 represent the total number of commissions of *oyer* and *terminer*, and commissions of the peace issued to the members of our sample. As these numbers fluctuate wildly from year to year, Figure 4 illustrates the general trend of office-holding over time. This is calculated over a ten-year moving average: therefore the figures for each individual year do not necessarily correspond to the figures represented in Figure 3; for example, the figure for the year 1300 represents the average number of commissioners or commissions for the period between 1295 and 1305. In the same manner, Figure 5 shows the total number of commissions of *oyer* and *terminer* and commissions of the peace issued to the members of our sample. Figure 6 illustrates the changes in the number of these judicial commissions issued across the fourteenth century. It is only when Figures 3 to 6 are analysed in conjunction with each other that we can understand the involvement of our samples in judicial commissions and how their experience corresponded with changes in the methods for the prosecution of justice in the localities, and the wider aristocracy's involvement in it.

During the reign of Edward I, very few members of our sample were involved in judicial commissions, and those who were appointed, were appointed to commissions of *oyer* and *terminer*. These commissions first appeared as a result of the governmental changes brought about by Edward I after his return from crusade in 1274. Closely associated with Edward I's policy of holding frequent parliaments in which petitions could be presented for redress, commissions of *oyer* and *terminer* were designed to decide individual cases, usually concerning trespass, or cases brought by individual petitions.[69] The members of the 1300 sample who were appointed to commissions of *oyer* and *terminer* during the reign of Edward I form an interesting group. They included Walter Beauchamp (four commissions between 1291-2); John Botetourt (30 commissions between 1293-1305); Hugh Despenser (four commissions between 1297-1305); Brian Fitzalan (three commissions between 1291-1305); Robert Fitzpayn (ten commissions between 1298-1306); Eustace Hatch (three commissions between 1281-3); and Roger Mortimer of Chirk (five commissions between 1304-5). It is instructive that all of these men were either members of Edward I's household or, as with Hugh Despenser and Brian Fitzalan, close members of the king's coterie and royal office holders in other capacities.[70] The majority of the members of the 1300 sample appointed to

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[69] R. W. Kaeuper, 'Law and Order in Fourteenth-Century England: the Evidence of Special Commissions of Oyer and Terminer', *Speculum* 54 (1979): 742-3.

[70] The following men can be considered members of the household during the periods indicated in the parenthesis: Walter Beauchamp (1284-1301), John Botetourt (1285-1307), Robert Fitzpayn (1297-1300), Eustace Hatch (1278-1286, 1300-1304), Roger Mortimer of Chirk (1284-5, 1290, 1300 1305).

commissions of *oyer* and *terminer* before 1307 had connections with the royal household: this may indicate either that Edward I wished to keep a certain level of crown control over the proceedings commissions, by including men close to him as justices; or that the potential for profit or patronage carried by the result of *oyer* and *terminer* cases meant that it was an attractive proposition for the members of our sample to receive appointment.[71] This could be attained much more easily through their access to the king's person as members of the household.

It was clear from the outset that these commissions could relieve some of the burden from the increasingly overworked eyre, and the number commissioned each year rose dramatically: doubling between 1275 and 1290 and peaking at 270 per year in 1318.[72] The government also experimented with general commissions of *oyer* and *terminer* or trialbaston commissions (which were issued on county circuits, much like the eyre), which also included members of the local aristocracy as well as central court justices. The sheer number of special *oyer* and *terminer* commissions from the early fourteenth century meant there were simply not enough central court judges to cover the commissions and they became increasingly staffed by the local aristocracy.[73] The heyday of the special *oyer* and *terminer* commissions came during the reign of Edward II. Between 1307 and 1320 they numbered consistently over a hundred commissions per year. This is reflected by the experiences of the members of our sample, whose participation in commissions of *oyer* and *terminer* peaked in the years between 1310 and 1320. During these eleven years, no fewer than 28 (or 36% of the 1300 sample living after 1309) sat on a total of 131 commissions of *oyer* and *terminer*, testimony to the way in which the local aristocracy was drafted into these commissions in order to cope with the explosion in the numbers brought forward at this time. Of these, 15 only sat once, but other men sat on numerous occasions; for example, during this period John Botetourt was appointed 26 times, Hugh Courtney 21 and Robert Fitzpayn 19 (including 12 commissions in 1313).

This is based on the names of those receiving robes in the wardrobe accounts for years 1277-1307, see Ingamells, 'Household of Edward I', Appendix I. Hugh Despenser seems to have been a close confidant of Edward I and appears in a large number of charter witness lists between 1296 and 1307, see Appendix IV. Brian Fitzalan, was an important military captain during Edward I's wars in Scotland in the late 1290s and early 1300s and was appointed Custodian of Northumberland in 1297. In that same year Edward I had asked him to assume the keepership of Scotland, but Fitzalan refused on the grounds that he did not have enough wealth; J. Stevenson, *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland . . . From the Death of King Alexander the Third to the Accession of Robert the Bruce, MCCXXXVI-MCCCCVI*, 2 vols. (London, 1870), 2: 222-4.

[71] Kaeuper, 'Commissions of Oyer and Terminer', pp.752-3.

[72] See graph in ibid., p.741. See also, pp.744, 753.

[73] Ibid., p.753.

Kaeuper has established that the number of *oyer* and *terminer* commissions dropped during the later years of Edward II's reign and apart from the 280 commissions appointed in 1327 (in an attempt to redress the oppressions of royal officials after the fall of the Edward II), the number of these special commissions went into a slow decline during the reign of Edward III, falling to less than 40 per year in the late 1360s and early 1370s.[74] The participation in these commissions by the members of our sample, however, is slightly more complicated. From the peak between 1310 and 1320 the number involved in all commissions, and especially *oyer* and *terminer*, steadily declines to a low point in the late 1340s. This was a transitional period, during which a majority of the members of the 1300 sample had already died and when many members of the 1359-60 sample were still in their childhood. The number of the 1359-60 sample involved in all commissions slowly rises from this low, peaking again in the 1360s and after a short decline in the 1370s peaking for a third time in the early 1380s.

The peak in our sample's participation in judicial commissions in the period 1361 to 1368 contributes further evidence to suggest that these captains, on their return from the 1359-60 campaign, threw themselves into the task of local administration in the years of peace following by the treaty of Bretigny.[75] A total of 28 men were appointed to 76 commissions of *oyer* and *terminer* and 98 separate appointments as justices of the peace.[76] The titled nobility and barons returned to head the judicial commissions in the counties in which they held landed interests, and it is particularly noticeable that former members of the household took a greater role in judicial administration after their return from campaign. Guy Brian was particularly active, serving on six commissions of *oyer* and *terminer* between 1360 and 1365, and as a justice of the peace for Somerset on five occasions between 1361 and 1368. It is also instructive that more junior members of the household carved out careers in judicial service in the 1360s. Richard Ask, a yeoman of the household in 1360, served on 16 commissions of *oyer* and *terminer* and was appointed as a justice of the peace in Yorkshire in 1360, 1361 and 1365; John Beauchamp of Holt, esquire of the household, had never served on a judicial commission before 1360, but was appointed to six *oyer* and *terminer* commissions between 1366 and 1368, and as a justice of the peace for Warwickshire and Worcestershire in 1367 and 1368; and Richard Elmrugg, a knight of the household (who, as we noted earlier, was sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire between

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[74] Ibid., pp.741,745-6.

[75] See above, pp.100-1.

[76] This figure includes every individual appointment to each county. Thus, William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury was appointed as justice of the peace in Hampshire, Dorset and Somerset in 1361; this is counted as three separate commissions.

1360-62 and 1365-68, and MP for Oxfordshire six times between 1361 and 1369),[77] also played a prominent role in the judicial administration of Oxfordshire as a corollary to his other offices: serving on four commissions of *oyer* and *terminer* between 1362 and 1365 and being appointed justice of the peace on four occasions between 1362 and 1368.[78] It is difficult to know whether royal patronage played any role in their rise to prominence in local administration, but these men amply demonstrate the multi-dimensional character of aristocratic careers, with a smooth transition from service in the military and the household to service in judicial commissions.

Figure 6 neatly demonstrates the rise of keepers/justices of the peace over the same period, as the number of commissions of *oyer* and *terminer* declined. The evolution of keepers of the peace into justices of the peace and their importance in the judicial system is well known and needs no repetition here.[79] The first time that members of our sample served as keepers of the peace was in 1307 when John Beauchamp of Somerset, Maurice Berkeley, John of Lancaster, John Mohun and William Vavasour were appointed as keepers in various counties. As was the case with the commissions of *oyer* and *terminer*, the troubled years of Edward II saw a steady increase in the numbers of our sample being appointed to commissions of the peace. The peak for members of the earlier sample was in 1320 when nine men were appointed as keepers whilst Edward II was in Aquitaine giving homage to Philip V.[80] Participation rates increased during the 1350s with the government's attempts to enforce the statute of labourers and rose sharply again during the 1360s with the establishment of fully fledged justices: it is in this decade that the number of the members of our sample appointed as justices of the peace matches the number of commissions of *oyer* and *terminer* for the first time.

The appointment of the members of the sample as justices of the peace reached a second peak in the period between 1375 and 1382. If we exclude 1379 when there was no general issue of peace commissions, an average of ten men per year were appointed as justices; between 1380 and 1382 this rises to 13. These men were also appointed to a greater number of counties; in 1364, 17 commissioners were appointed to 29 counties, and in 1382

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[77] See above, p.100.

[78] Elmrugg's administrative career during the 1360s was prolific, he also was appointed to three commissions of inquiry between 1364 and 1369; two commissions of *walliis* and *fossatis* in 1361 and 1369; two commissions of array in 1367 and 1369 and two commissions of survey in Oxfordshire in 1363 and 1364.

[79] The classic account is B.H. Putnam, 'The Transformation of the Keeper of the Peace into Justices of the Peace, 1327-80', *TRHS*, 4th ser. 12 (1929): 19-48. Although this account of the rise of justices of the peace was considered a definitive study for many years, Anthony Musson has persuasively revised Putnam's views. A. Musson, *Public Order and Law Enforcement: The Local Administration of Criminal Justice 1294-1350* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp.1-84.

[80] Musson, *Public Order*, Table 1 and p.41.

14 commissioners were appointed to a total of 33 counties (although John of Gaunt was appointed to 19 of those). The rise in the number of men from our sample involved in peace commissions in the late 1370s and 1380s was probably a result of the minority of Richard II and the civil disturbances which came in the wake of the Peasants' Revolt in 1381. In general the number of justices of the peace increased in the 1380s and it is noticeable that the titled nobility and the barons from our sample were usually included in the peace commissions for the counties in which they held lands during this period.[81] This is reflective of the role that appointment in commissions of the peace played in the *cursus honorum* of the aristocracy during this period, and also the necessity of including the members of the higher aristocracy in commissions, in order to bring social control in the counties where their patronage held sway. Figure 4 demonstrates the eventual fall-off in the samples' participation in judicial commissions in the late 1380s and 1390s, as the last of the surviving members of the 1359-60 died; the last survivor was John, Lord Cobham, who died in 1406. The trend line for the number of commissions of the peace remains relatively high for the late 1380s and 1390s, but this figure is slightly exaggerated due to John of Gaunt's numerous appointments.

Whether appointment to judicial commissions in any way strengthened ties between individuals and fostered a feeling of community amongst those who were appointed to them is a complicated issue. Those who were appointed to commissions of *oyer* and *terminer* almost certainly attended their proceedings. The fact that the titled nobility were rarely appointed to such commissions is suggestive of this, as they would probably have been too busy with their own affairs. It was left to the men of baronial, knightly status and below to carry most of the burden of judicial work in the localities. Those who served together on commissions of *oyer* and *terminer* must have developed a close working relationship. For example Hugh Courtenay served on four commissions with John Beauchamp of Somerset between 1315 and 1327 in the counties of Devon, Dorset and Somerset.[82] Both Courtenay and Beauchamp served on a number of commissions (38 and 28 respectively) and were both prominent landowners in the South West. Beauchamp was appointed as keeper of the peace in Somerset on seven occasions and Courtenay on three; they also served on *oyer* and *terminer* commissions in Dorset (a Courtenay heartland) on several occasions. It is likely that joint service in judicial commissions helped to strengthen the ties these men already had as major landowners in the South West.

Whether appointment as a justice of the peace had the same effect in strengthening social networks is doubtful. Perhaps the earlier keepers of the peace would have played a more active role in pursuing the detail of their commissions than the later justices. Of the

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[81] Musson and Ormrod, *Evolution of Justice*, pp.56-7.

[82] *CPR*, 1313-17 pt.1, p.408, *CPR*, 1317-21, pp.470-1, 483. *CPR*, 1327-30, p.297.

nine men appointed as keepers of the peace in 1320 all but one were of baronial rank;[83] the other, John Deyncourt, was returned as knight of the shire for Derbyshire on four occasions between 1300 and 1320 and was also involved in a number of administrative tasks, such as tax collecting, in his home county of Derbyshire.[84] Indeed before 1330 none of the titled nobility from the 1300 sample were appointed as keepers. The commissions of the early fourteenth century were also much smaller than those of the later fourteenth century, with often only two or three justices appointed, which meant that those who were appointed had little option but to carry out their allotted tasks.[85] With the expanded commissions and the introduction of justices of the peace, however, it is very doubtful that those of higher rank appointed to peace commissions actually sat through proceedings. Nigel Saul noted that in Gloucestershire, of the ten recorded sessions of the peace between 1361 and 1398, in three sessions five justices attended, in four sessions four attended, and in August and December 1395 only three justices attended, one of whom was a centrally appointed court justice. During the 1390s about five justices could be expected to attend out of the nine or ten appointed.[86] Those who did attend tended to be members of the local gentry, local lawyers and centrally appointed justices. Most of the work was carried out by centrally appointed justices who 'afforced' commissions of the peace, and in the later fourteenth century the quorum of local justices was established without whom sessions of the peace could not take place.[87]

The higher aristocracy was first brought into commissions of the peace in the 1330s. The inclusion of organisation of the array in the brief of the keepers of the peace in 1332 and 1338 needed the support of the magnates and barons who could provide the military muscle in the localities.[88] In 1348 and 1352 the Commons actively encouraged the king to include the great men of the realm.[89] Thus the pressure for magnate and baronial participation did not come from the magnates themselves, but from the lower ranks of local society. However,

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[83] John Beauchamp of Somerset, John Engaine, William Ferrers, Thomas Furnivalle, John Grey of Wilton, John Mohun, John St. John (Junior) and John Segrave.

[84] For example, collector of 20th and 15th (1313); commission to audit collection of a pavage granted to Derby (1314); assessor of 16th (1316); assessor for collection of 18th (1319); *CPR*,1313-17, pt.1, p.50; *CPR*, 1313-17, pt.1, pp.236; *CPR*, 1313-17, pt.1, p.530; *CPR*, 1317-21, p.348. See also Appendix VII.

[85] Musson and Ormrod, *Evolution*, p.68.

[86] Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.132-3.

[87] Musson and Ormrod, *Evolution*, pp.51, 56-7, 61-8; Musson, *Public Order*, pp.76-9.

[88] Musson, *Public Order*, pp.70-4.

[89] Musson and Ormrod, *Evolution*, pp.70-1.

once established in the commissions, the higher reaches of the nobility saw it as part of their *cursus honorum*, as important as an individual summons to parliament, inclusion in council or leading military contingents in times of war. With appointment to judicial commissions being largely honorific, it would be unsafe to assume that appointment to commissions fostered a sense of community. However it does point towards the existence of close political associations between members of the aristocracy in the localities. Inclusion of the great and good in commissions of the peace reflects the collective responsibility of the aristocracy for the maintenance of law and order in their 'country', regardless of whether they actually sat through the proceedings of the courts.

Conclusion

The question of whether involvement in high politics and royal office-holding in the later thirteenth and fourteenth century helped to forge a feeling of community amongst the members of our sample is not easy to answer with any certainty, and has provided different results for each individual sample. The members of the 1300 sample were deeply involved in the high politics of the realm. During the reign of Edward I, 47% can be considered as members of the king's intimate circle of advisors at some time in their career and 74% were summoned to parliament. The social composition of the group, with many of these men attaining the rank of banneret, meant that for many, a summons to parliament was a corollary to their summons for military service. During the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the idea of a parliamentary baronage (or peerage) had not fully crystallised and an individual summons to parliament was a more common experience for this sample. It is likely that involvement as a royal counsellor or in parliament strengthened the ties between the members of the 1300 sample, who also met regularly through military service. By the mid fourteenth century the council had become largely limited to the titled nobility, senior members of the baronage and *ex officio* members of the household, and access to the House of Lords was generally limited to a small group of men on a largely hereditary basis. Thus, of the 1359-60 sample only 18% are identifiable as members of the council and 28% received individual summons to parliament. It is likely that for this small group involvement in the high politics of the reign generated a feeling that they were members of a small elite group, separate from other members of this sample.

The question of whether office-holding engendered community has also produced different results for the two samples. If we look first at involvement in judicial commissions from the 1300 sample, 44% served at least once on a commission of *oyer* and *terminer* or as a keeper/justice of the peace; and at 50% this number is slightly higher for the 1359-60 sample. However, the density of service on judicial commissions is much higher for the 1359-60 sample: on average these men served over twice as often as the men of the 1300 sample. If we broaden out this review of office-holding to include those who were

commissioned as purveyors and tax collectors, along with those involved in the administration of the shires as sheriff's escheators, surveyors and commissioners of *walliis* and *fossatis,* the number involved in administrative and judicial service rises to 57% for the 1300 sample and 70% for the 1359-60 sample. If we also include election as a member of the commons as a form of office holding (as MPs were elected to represent their local communities and possibly present petitions on their communities' behalf) then we also see a rise in the numbers between the two samples, with four members of the 1300 elected to the commons compared to eleven from the second sample.

It is difficult to conclude that office-holding *per se* led to a feeling of community. For example, we cannot be sure whether being appointed to commissions of the peace allowed social ties to be forged with other commissioners, as we have no idea how regularly the members of our sample attended their proceedings. However, a feeling of collective identity may well have been forged in another way. The massive growth in central government stimulated a re-alignment in the relationship between the crown and provincial aristocracy. The institutions created with the growth of the state, the growth in the importance of parliament and the increasing number of royal offices in the localities allowed many lesser landowners to play a role in the assertion of public authority.[90] Appointment to these official positions also became an essential indicator of status and 'social recognition'. It is also true that through the participation of the men of our samples in judicial and administrative commissions they were protecting the collective interests of the aristocracy. For instance, Peter Coss has said that, although they were not elected, 'justices [of the peace] represented the collective and social power of the gentry.' Furthermore, the gentry attempted 'to exercise collective and social control over the populace on a territorial basis, reinforcing individual status and power.'[91] Although the idea of the gentry does not form the basis of this study, a similar idea can be extended to all those who served on judicial and administrative commissions. If we cannot safely assert that political, judicial and administrative office-holding engendered a feeling of community through a mechanical analysis of networks forged through joint office-holding; we can at least conclude that through the domination of these offices, the men of our sample were protecting the interests of their community and shared values. Office-holding also marked them out as a political elite in society, separated from other putative groups in society by their access to the levers of legal power. There is surely no doubt that this strengthened any corporate identity these men may have held as a military elite.

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[90] G.L. Harriss, 'Political Society and the Growth of Government in Late Medieval England', *Past and Present* 138 (1993): 28-58. See also, R.C. Palmer, *English Law in the Age of the Black Death, 1348-81* (Chapel Hill and London, 1993), pp.9-54.

[91] P. R. Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003), p.11, see also, p.184.

Chapter 3

Marriage and Community

The previous two chapters have examined the idea that the members of our sample formed a distinct community within later medieval society based on their participation in military, political and administrative service. It has been argued that these collective activities created and affirmed social networks and helped to form a corporate identity amongst this group. In this chapter we will evaluate whether marriage alliances strengthened the idea that the members of our two samples formed a community. We will be assessing whether the collective interests of this group determined the choice of marriage partner and if the marriage patterns of the sample were endogamous. We will also consider the effect that wardships had on these marriage patterns. However, this study is not just limited to quantitative analysis of marriage networks: it will also take a qualitative approach to the formation of marriage alliances. It will address what impact marriage into another family had on the individual members of our sample: how such marriage affected the self-image of sample members and how through the use of heraldry, individual families advertised their marriage alliances. As a corollary to this qualitative approach, we will also consider how strong the political networks associated through inter-marriage between families could be. This is approached through a case study of the networks that Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, first Earl of March (d.1330), attempted to forge through the marriage of his many daughters. Several members of our sample were incorporated into this marriage network, and Mortimer's actions provide an instructive case study into how members of the aristocracy attempted to build alliances through marriage.

The Creation of Marriage Alliances

It has been axiomatic among historians concerned with the marriages of the English aristocracy in the later Middle Ages, that the most important considerations in the choice of marriage partner were the accumulation of lands and how beneficial the marriage could be to one's social or political standing. Landholding held the keys to power and status and was inextricably linked to the family. The vast majority of those men that we identified in Chapter 2 as holding political, judicial and administrative office owed their position and influence to the wealth that could be generated from their estates. It is also no coincidence that the great military captains of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were the great landholders on whom the crown relied to use their resources in raising armed forces. Although land could help in building a career, it did not belong to the individual alone: it also belonged to the family, passed down from one generation to the next.

This is why land was such an important consideration in the choice of marriage partner. Firstly, marriages were on the whole arranged between the fathers of the bride and groom, with as J. T. Rosenthal puts it, 'an eye to property and to political affiliations.'[1] Many marriages were arranged before the bride and groom reached the age of majority (21 for a male and some time between 14 and 21 for a female),[2] and in some cases, particularly amongst the higher reaches of the nobility, whilst the couple were children. There were of course very practical reasons for this, not least that a father wished to influence the marriage of his children during his lifetime, possibly to further his own ambitions, but also perhaps to avoid a marriage partner being chosen by a guardian, in the event of the father's death before his child reached the age of majority.[3] Some of these marriage arrangements were settled in a formal contract between the two parties, outlining which lands the father of the groom would grant to the couple, and the cash payment that the father of the bride would give in return.[4] Often these contracts would have 'what if" clauses: for example, if the heir dies then the next son will take his place, or if the daughter dies before she is 14 (the age of consent prescribed by canon law) then another daughter will take her place. Some contracts could be extremely complicated to account for a multitude of scenarios, but at the heart of the contract was the concern for the uniting of two families and the descent of land that this union created.

This discussion of arranged marriages between minors, and legal contracts sealing the marriage of children, leaves one with the impression that aristocratic marriages were arranged with a calculated 'strategy' in mind; what Keith Dockray calls the 'marriage/status/property hunt',[5] with fathers vying against each other to obtain the best marriage to further their own and their family's interests. A. J. Pollard has forcefully expressed this idea of a 'marriage strategy' in his discussion of the fifteenth-century Richmondshire gentry:

> Marriage was, of course, a business transaction. But besides being a property deal, marriage was also a means of social preservation or advancement. Through their

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[1] J.T. Rosenthal, *Nobles and the Noble Life, 1295-1500* (New York, 1976), p.88.

[2] F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*, 2nd edn., 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1911), 2: 319-20.

[3] This topic is covered in further depth below, pp.115-7. See also, Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, pp.318-23.

[4] Rosenthal, *Nobles and the Noble Life*, pp.88-9; S. Payling, 'The Politics of Family: Late Medieval Marriage Contracts', in R. H. Britnell and A. J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society*, pp.21-47.

[5] K. Dockray, 'Why Did Fifteenth-Century English Gentry Marry?: The Pastons, Plumptons and Stonors Reconsidered', in M. Jones (ed.), *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe* (Gloucester, 1986), p.63.

> marriage alliances one with another the gentry families constantly reaffirmed and strengthened their social positions, while for individual families marriage offered one way into the group and one way of advancement in the pecking order within it.[6]

This view of medieval marriage has come under attack from some social historians for being too mechanistic. Keith Dockray, mainly using the correspondence of the Pastons, Plumptons and Stonors, has drawn our attention to the greater choice that individuals, in this case of the gentry, had in their selection of marriage partner and the role that affection and mutual attraction played in the choice of marriage partner.[7] J. T. Rosenthal has stated that marriage 'at first was more for business than pleasure', but he has also drawn our attention to another aspect of aristocratic marriage. Using a range of qualitative sources he has asserted that within this institution 'it often became a satisfactory personal relationship and that it offered considerable scope for sentiment and co-operation.'[8] Although these observations are an important corrective on the traditional view of medieval aristocratic marriage, they only go so far. One would be very foolhardy to assert that in an age when arranged marriages amongst significant landholders were very common, these marriages would be loveless and lacking affection between individuals.

Bearing this in mind, what evidence do the marriages of our sample present? If we are to believe that the landed elite of the later middle ages followed a marriage strategy, then we would expect to find several trends relating to their first marriages. Firstly, they would be married at a young age; secondly there would be a fairly high number of marriages to heiresses to secure lands; thirdly we would expect to find a tendency towards endogamy in order to affirm social hierarchy.

Of the 101 men named in the *Song of Caerlaverock* the names and pedigree of 66 of their first wives can be confidently asserted. This number drops to 25 out of 97 for the 1359-60 sample. In addition to those whose wives' pedigree cannot be traced, neither John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, John Creeting nor Walter Mouncy from the first sample, nor Guy Beauchamp of Warwick and John Chandos from the second sample were ever married. The small number of those who can be identified as never being married is in itself testament to how important marriage was considered in a noble's life cycle. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 display the age groups of those who have existing data at the time of their first marriage. Of course, this information may not be entirely accurate. Some approximate dates of birth can be found

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[6] A. J. Pollard, 'The Richmondshire Community of Gentry During the Wars of the Roses', in C. Ross (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979), p.47.

[7] Dockray, 'Why Did Fifteenth-Century English Gentry Marry?', pp.61-80.

[8] J. T. Rosenthal, 'Aristocratic Marriage and the English Peerage, 1350-1500: Social Institution and Personal Bond' *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984): 181-94; quotes from p.181.

in the proof of age testimonies in the *Inquisition Post Mortem*; however, these do not necessarily accurately reflect an individual's age and are merely intended to prove that an individual is at or over the age of majority. There are also cases when sworn testimony has asserted that an individual is of age, only to find out later that they were under age.[9] The following tables illustrate the age of members of the two samples at the time of their first marriage. They have been divided into those who were members of the titled nobility, those who received an individual summons to parliament and those who did not. This will give us a rough indication of the relative status of individuals within the samples, although it must be remembered that an individual summons to parliament for a member of the 1300 sample may not be as important a marker of status, because the concept of a parliamentary baronage was still rather fluid in the early fourteenth century.[10]

Table 3.1. Age at Time of First Marriage (1300 Sample)

Group	Sample Size	Age	Age	Age
		Under 21	21-30	Over 30
Titled Nobility[11]	7	4	2	1
Barons	17	12	4	3
Below Baronage	0	0	0	0

Table 3.2. Age at Time of First Marriage (1359-60 Sample)

Group	Sample Size	Age	Age	Age
		Under 21	21-30	Over 30
Titled Nobility[12]	6	4	1	1
Barons	8	4	3	1
Below Baronage	0	0	0	0

It is difficult to draw too many firm conclusions from these figures as the sample size is fairly small: the ages of only 24 men out of 66 from the first sample and 14 of 25 from the second sample can be found at the time of their first marriage. Of these, 16 (66%)

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[9] A good overview of proofs of age inquests can be found in: S. S. Walker, 'Proofs of Age of Feudal Heirs in Medieval England', *Medieval Studies* 35 (1973): 306-23.

[10] See above, pp.92-4.

[11] In this table, Hugh Courtenay, Hugh Despenser, Henry of Lancaster, Aymer Valence and Ralph Monthemer, have been classed as barons as they were raised to the titled nobility some time after their first marriages, and thus their marriages may not have been 'arranged' with their future nobility in mind. In the case of Ralph Monthermer his position as earl of Gloucester was dependant on his marriage to the former earl's widow.

[12] As with the previous table, William Bohun, Ralph Stafford and Robert Ufford, have been included as barons rather than titled nobility as it would not have been apparent at the time that they were married for the first time that they would later be raised to the baronage.

and eight (57%) respectively were married before they reached full majority, but again it is difficult to place too much emphasis on these figures: we are more likely to know the ages of those who were minors before they had seisin of their lands, because they were the ones who were more likely to need a proof of age inquisition. Nonetheless, these figures do seem to correspond with existing scholarship that assumes that most aristocrats were married for the first time in their late teens or early twenties.[13] What is perhaps more instructive is that out of a total of 16 parliamentary barons who were married for the first time whilst below the age of majority, only three were married to heiresses, compared to four out of eight of the titled nobility. Of the remaining barons, three out of the seven that married in their twenties married heiresses, and three out of four barons who married for the first time over the age of thirty married heiresses. This perhaps reveals another type of marriage strategy unrelated to those arranged by the fathers of their younger children.

If we look at those three barons who were married in their thirties, Bartholomew Badlesmere was an active royal servant, member of Edward I's household, steward during the reign of Edward II, administrator, an active soldier and a knight of the shire before receiving regular summonses to parliament from 1309. He was married in 1308, just before his first summons to parliament, to Margaret widow of Gilbert Umfraville, the heir apparent of Gilbert, eighth Earl of Angus. Margaret was an heiress in her own right, as the co-heir of Thomas Clare younger son of Richard Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford.[14] As the niece and granddaughter of an earl and a prospective countess, this marriage surely raised Badlesmere's social status and wealth to the level of a man worthy of his place in the Lords. Another man who married in his thirties, Hugh Bardolf, married in approximately his thirtieth year a double heiress. His wife Isabel was sole heir of her father Robert Aguillon of Addington Surrey and through her mother, one of the seven co-heiresses and daughters of William Ferrers, sometime Earl of Derby.[15] Hugh de Vere also provides an enlightening case. The second son of the fifth Earl of Oxford, and thus not expected to inherit his father's patrimony, he did not marry until into his mid-thirties. His choice of bride was the eleven-year-old daughter and sole heiress of William Munchesney.[16] The couple were married in 1294, which brought de Vere a barony with lands in the north of England. It is perhaps then no surprise that de Vere was an active soldier in the wars of Edward I in Scotland. This also provides a good example of how younger sons could provide for themselves through

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[13] For example: Rosenthal, *Nobles and the Noble Life*, p.88.

[14] *GEC*, 1: 371-2.

[15] *GEC*, 1: 412-8.

[16] *GEC*, 12, pt.2: 353-6.

advantageous marriages. This union, however, was not destined to establish a new de Vere dynasty, as his wife died childless at the age of thirty.

Tables 3.3 and 3.4 investigate marriages to heiresses for the group as a whole and Tables 3.5 and 3.6 examine the tendency for endogamy within the group. For the purposes of statistical analysis, those who were married to sisters and daughters of men who received individual summonses to parliament are counted as being married into the baronage and likewise for marriage into the titled nobility.

Table 3.3. First Marriages to Heiresses and Widows (1300 Sample)

Group (total sample size 67)	Married to an Heiress	Married to a Widow and Heiress	Married to a Widow
Titled Nobility[17] (sample size 7)	2	0	1
Barons (sample size 59)	15	4	2
Below Baronage (sample size 1)	0	0	0

Table 3.4. First Marriages to Heiresses and Widows (1359-60 Sample)

Rank	Married to an Heiress	Married to a Widow and Heiress	Married to a Widow
Titled Nobility[18] (sample size 8)	4	0	0
Barons (sample size 17)	4	1	2
Below Baronage (sample size 0)	0	0	0

[17] The same criteria regarding those raised to the baronage applies as in n.11.

[18] The same criteria regarding those raised to the baronage applies as in n.11. and n.12.

Table 3.5. Tendency Towards Endogamy in First Marriages (1300 Sample)

Rank[19]	Foreign Nobility[20]	Titled Nobility	Barons	Uncertain Pedigree/ below Baronage (Heiress)	Uncertain Pedigree/ below Baronage (Non-Heiress)
Titled Nobility (Sample size 7)	2	5	0	0	0
Barons (Sample size 59)	1	6	23	11	18
Below Baronage (Sample size 1)	0	0	1	0	0

Table 3.6. Tendency Towards Endogamy in First Marriages (1359-60 Sample)

Group[21]	Foreign Nobility	Titled Nobility [22]	Barons	Uncertain Pedigree/ below Baronage (Heiress)	Uncertain Pedigree/ below Baronage (Non-Heiress)
Titled Nobility (Sample size 8)	1	4	3	0	0
Barons (Sample size 17)	0	3	7	4	3
Below Baronage (Sample size 0)	0	0	0	0	0

Taken in conjunction, these two tables provide interesting, if not conclusive, evidence of endogamy for the 1300 sample. In this sample all of those classed as members of the titled nobility married daughters of other members of the titled nobility or members of the foreign nobility. Indeed, some members of the titled nobility were able to arrange

[19] Total sample sizes as per Table 2.1. The rules classifying those raised to the titled nobility after their first marriage are the same as n.11.

[20] By foreign nobility I mean those married to families on the continent. Marriages to the titled nobility in Scotland and Ireland have not been classed as foreign as political and social ties link them closely to the English nobility. Indeed many members of the Scottish and Irish nobility received individual summonses to the English parliament.

[21] Total sample sizes as per Table 2.2. The rules classifying those raised to the titled nobility after their first marriage are the same as n.12.

[22] Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Thomas Berkeley and John Cherleton were married to daughters of Roger Mortimer, first Earl of March before he was raised to the titled nobility and thus have all been classified as being married into the baronage rather than titled nobility.

particularly advantageous marriages within the royal family: Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, was married to Edward I's daughter Elizabeth, widow of John, count of Holland; and John Warenne, Earl of Surrey, was married to Alice, daughter of Hugh, count of La Marche, and uterine sister of Henry III.[23] The Earl of Arundel was married to a foreign noble's daughter and the remaining four were married into English families of comital rank.

Turning to the barons, over half were married into families of equal or superior status, and if we add to this figure those who were married to heiresses of uncertain pedigree this rises to 70%. This strongly indicates that marrying into families within a particular status group and increasing one's landholding through marriage were of the upmost importance in determining marriage alliances. Of the six men who received an individual summons to parliament and married into the titled nobility, Thomas Multon married the Earl of Ulster's daughter and Robert Tony married the Earl of Strathearn's daughter.[24] Other barons who married into the English titled nobility included Henry Percy, a rising star in the North, who was probably married, in 1299, to Eleanor, sister of the Earl of Arundel. *The Complete Peerage* is cautious in assigning 'Eleanor brother of Sir Richard Arundel' as the daughter of the earl.[25] But the fact that Percy changed his arms from *azure, a fess indented or* to *or, a lion rampant azure*, in comparison to the Fitzalan arms of *gules, a lion rampant, or*, suggests that Percy was reflecting his improving status: married into the titled nobility at a time when he was beginning to establish his presence in the North of England and Scotland.[26] The remaining barons who married into the titled nobility were Hugh Despenser, household knight and long time captain under Edward I, who married the Earl of Warwick's daughter; Walter Huntercombe, who was a ward of Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and married his daughter, and Ralph Monthermer.

Ralph Monthermer appears to have obtained two advantageous marriages by using his apparently considerable charms. From a family probably based in the palatinate of Durham, Monthermer was a knight of the household of Gilbert Clare, Earl of Gloucester. After the earl died in 1295, Monthermer secretly married his widow, Edward I's daughter Joan of Acre, to her father's considerable chagrin. During Joan's lifetime Monthermer was addressed as the Earl of Gloucester and took his seat in the Lords. In 1306 he was also created the earl of Atholl through his claims to the Gloucester inheritance. Joan's death in 1307 led to Monthermer's instant demotion: he was summoned to the parliament of 1309 as

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[23] *GEC*, 6: 467-70; *GEC*, 12, pt.1: 503-7.

[24] *GEC*, 9: 403-4; *GEC*,.12, pt.1: 773-5.

[25] *GEC*, 10:458, n.k.

[26] Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, 2: 166, 337. Anthony Wagner tends to agree with this view: A.R. Wagner, *Historic Heraldry in Britain: An Illustrated Series of British Historical Arms with Notes, and an introduction to Heraldry* (Oxford, 1939), p.56.

a baron, but was still able to make a tidy profit from his fortuitous marriage by selling the rights to the earldom of Atholl to David Strathbogie. Monthermer's second marriage also brought royal displeasure as, in 1318, he married Isabel, the daughter of Hugh Despenser and widow of John Hastings.[27] J. T. Rosenthal has commented that Monthermer had to beg and buy his way out of royal disfavour.[28] But considering the 10,000 marks he made on the sale of the title of earl of Atholl, a title he would never have been able to enforce, and the considerable amount of lands that came with Isabel's dower, this was a small price to pay. He may also not have had to beg too hard either as he was well known at the court of Edward II: he regularly witnessed royal charters and was entrusted with the custody of the royal princesses between 1324 and his death in 1325. With Joan of Acre he had a daughter and heiress, Margaret, who was married to the first Montagu Earl of Salisbury's younger son John.[29] So through an advantageous marriage the head of the Monthermer family had risen from the rank of knight, to earl, back down to baron and eventually through his daughter back to comital rank in two generations.

Turning to the 1359-60 sample, half of the titled nobility married daughters of other members of the titled nobility, and Edmund of Langley married the daughter of the King of Castile.[30] Of the three members of the titled nobility who married into the baronage, Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1369) was married to the daughter of Roger Mortimer, later the first Earl of March, who was granted Thomas's marriage by Edward II whilst he was a royal ward. This marriage was arranged whilst both parties were under-age in an attempt to heal the rifts that had been created between the two families over the descent of the lands of Walter Hakelut in the Welsh Marches.[31] Thomas Beauchamp's sons were also married into the baronage. His eldest son Guy, who died in his father's lifetime, was married before 1353, to Philippa, daughter of Henry, second Lord Ferrers of Groby. Guy's brother Thomas, the eventual Earl of Warwick, was married to Philippa's niece Margaret, daughter of William, third Lord Ferrers of Groby.[32]

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[27] *The Complete Peerage* sketches an outline of his colourful career: *GEC*, 5: 710, 9: 140-2.

[28] Rosenthal, *Nobles and Noble Life*, p.90.

[29] *GEC*, 5: 710.

[30] *GEC* 2: 61.

[31] At least this was the argument put forward by Mortimer in his attempt to obtain the grant of Thomas Beauchamp's marriage. Ward of Beauchamp's lands was given to Hugh Despenser the elder. I. Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor: The Life of Roger Mortimer, 1st Earl of March, Ruler of England, 1327-1330* (London, 2003), pp.94-5; R. R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales, 1282-1400* (Oxford, 1978), pp.283-4.

[32] *GEC*, 12, pt.2: 375-8.

The other member of the titled nobility from the 1359-60 sample to marry into the baronage was perhaps a surprising one. Henry Grosmont, Earl and later Duke of Lancaster had remained unmarried for some time and it was not until his twenty-seventh year that he was married to Isabel, daughter of Henry, first Lord Beaumont. Again there may well have been political connotations to this marriage. Beaumont had been vigorous in pushing his claims to the earldom of Buchan in right of his wife, Alice, first daughter and co-heir of Alexander Comyn. Although, as Grosmont's biographer Kenneth Fowler points out, Isabel had no obvious claim which she could pass to her husband,[33] a later plan in 1359 to create John of Gaunt king of Scotland emphasised his Scottish connection and also his connection to the earls of Buchan through his wife Blanche, Grosmont's daughter. This union took place in 1337 at a crucial time in Edward III's war with Scotland and it may well have been that Grosmont's marriage to the daughter of the most prominent of the disinherited Scottish lords was intended to give their cause a boost by bringing the new Earl of Derby's not inconsiderable resources to bear in the North. It may also have been a move designed to enable Henry to carve out a lordship for himself in Scotland. There may, however, have been an another reason for this marriage. Grosmont was an active campaigner in the North and would be well acquainted with Henry Beaumont, and no doubt, his family, so this may well have been a love-match.

It is difficult to conclude from these few examples whether the titled nobility of the 1359-60 sample were happier to marry outside their social group than their counterparts from the 1300 sample. Both Warwick (d.1369) and Lancaster may have been married for political expediency, and anyway their brides were of not inconsiderable status themselves. Turning to the barons, seven out of 17 married the daughters of the parliamentary baronage, and three married into the titled nobility. Both Ralph Bassett and Henry Percy had particularly advantageous marriages arranged for them whilst they were still children, with Bassett being married to a daughter of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, at the age of three and Percy being married to a daughter of Henry, third Earl of Lancaster, whilst aged about twelve.[34] Henry Beaumont was also married into the titled nobility through his match with Maude, daughter of John de Vere, seventh Earl of Oxford. Of the seven who married women from outside the baronage, four married heiresses.

We should not, however, assume that the remaining three who married non-heiresses outside the baronage married for love alone. The first marriage of Ralph Stafford, the future Earl of Stafford, was to Katherine, daughter of John Hastang of Cherbsey Staffordshire, a marriage which seems to have been intended to strengthen Stafford's ties

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[33] K. Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant: Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster 1310-1361* (New York, 1969), p.175.

[34] *GEC*, 2: 3-6; 10: 462-3.

within his county. His second marriage is indicative of his widening horizons achieved mainly through royal service. In or before 1336 he married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Hugh Audley, Earl of Gloucester.[35] Most of the lands that Stafford held at the time of his death came down to him from Margaret's inheritance and it is unlikely that he would have been raised to the titled nobility without the wealth that could be generated from these lands and the status acquired from his marriage to the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester.[36] Of the remaining two men who married non-heiresses outside the baronage, Thomas Ughtred married a local woman who may have brought some land with her into the marriage, and Michael Poynings married Joan, daughter of Sir Richard Rokesley and the widow of John, Lord Moleyns. Michael's father Thomas had also married a member of the Rokesley family, but we do not know Thomas's wife's relationship with Joan.[37]

These few examples highlight some of the complexities when considering motives for the choice of marriage partner. Some married heiresses, some widows with dowers, some had political considerations in mind, some no doubt for love. No matter what the main motive behind the choice of marriage partner, the fourteenth-century elite seems to have been a socially conservative group and the figures for both our samples taken as a whole point towards a tendency for endogamy. Of the titled nobility, a total of twelve (80%) married into other families within the titled nobility or foreign nobility. Of the barons, 30 (39%) married the daughter or sister of another baron, ten (13%) married into the titled nobility and 36 (48%) married women whose families never received an individual summons to parliament. Of those 36, 15 (19% of the total) were married to heiresses. Thus a majority of barons married women of equal or better status. Indeed, it may well be that these figures are artificially low. As we have previously mentioned, the concept of a parliamentary baronage was new and rather fluid in the early fourteenth century, making the status of some of those not receiving an individual summons to parliament difficult to judge. For the purposes of this type of analysis, if an individual married the daughter of a tenurial baron who did not receive an individual summons to parliament, this marriage was not counted as a marriage within this group, although to contemporary perception it may have been considered a marriage of families of equal degree. If we compare our findings with those of J. T. Rosenthal, who looked at the social and economic origins of barons' wives between 1350-1500, we find a similar tendency towards endogamy. In the period covered by Rosenthal, the notion of an individual summons to parliament as an indicator of social

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[35] *GEC*, 12, pt.1: 174-7.

[36] *GEC*, 12, pt.1: 174-7. The lands that Margaret brought to the marriage are clearly indicated in, *CIPM*, 13: no.210.

[37] *GEC*, 10: 660-1; *GEC*, 12, pt.2: 158-61.

rank was much more solid than in the early fourteenth century. Rosenthal found that out of 580 marriages to 'peers', in 371 (64%) cases the bride was the daughter or sister of an existing peer. Of the 209 who married outside the peerage group, 75 (35%) were married to heiresses.[38] These figures tend to support the findings of our sample. This tendency towards endogamy and the seemingly high incidence of marriages arranged before the individual reached the age of majority, gives tentative support to the idea that marriages were arranged by families for mutual advancement, whether this may have been monetary, political or social. Although canon law may have tried to prevent coercive marriages, the choice of marriage partner for the landed elite in the fourteenth century seems to have been limited to a small pool based on social status. Thus, we must consider marriage as another dimension to the career pattern of those included in our sample.

The Place of Royal Wardships in the Formation of Marriage Alliances

In considering the choice of marriage partner amongst the landholding elite of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, S.L. Waugh has observed that decisions about marriage were 'never made in a vacuum.'[39] We have already noted that political and social considerations could be prime motivations for the choice of marriage partner, but it was the descent of land that undoubtedly caused the most concern to the parties involved. Concern for the descent of land also brought an individual's immediate lord into the equation: for most of the men included in our sample, their immediate lord was the king himself. The king's feudal rights add another element to the formation of marriage alliances; particularly in cases where a tenant-in-chief died leaving a minor as heir. In this case the king had the right to wardship of the minor, could take the rents and profits of the minor's tenements and also the right to the ward's marriage.[40] This feudal incident could be used in two main ways by the king: he could both take the profits of the lands and arrange a marriage for a minor himself, or he could grant or sell the wardship to another who took his place as guardian. The lands and marriage could also be divided between different parties, as in the case of the wardship of Francis Audeham, whose lands were granted to the household knight Eustace Hatch and his marriage granted to another veteran of the Caerlaverock campaign, Roger de la Warr.[41] The reward to Hatch was no doubt financial as he was given full rights of lordship with rights over knights' fees, parks, and unusually advowsons, along with profits to be made from the

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[38] Rosenthal, 'Aristocratic Marriage', Table 2, p.182.

[39] S.L. Waugh, *The Lordship of England: Royal Wardships and Marriages in English Society and Politics, 1217-1327* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1988), p.52.

[40] Ibid., p.72; Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, pp.318-20.

[41] *CCR*, 1288-1296, p.179; *CPR*, 1281-1292, p.428.

land itself. De la Warr may have been keen to secure marriage of Audeham into his own family as he was the heir to the barony of Chiselbrough in Somerset, a county in which de la Warr had significant landed interests.[42]

Wardships were a common occurrence. Of the 67 men whose marriages can be traced from the 1300 sample, no fewer than fifteen (22%) had been royal wards. Likewise five of the 25 members of the second sample had also been wards. Not all of these men had marriages arranged for them whilst they were wards, and for those who did, the consequences of wardship should not be seen as necessarily negative or even particularly coercive. In some cases the king guaranteed marriage arrangements made by fathers before their deaths. For example, Henry Lacy was contracted to marry Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of William Longspée in 1256.[43] Margaret would bring a great wealth of lands to the marriage and such an accumulation of estates was obviously of concern to Henry III. William Longspée died soon after the marriage was contracted and Henry's father died in 1258: nonetheless, Henry III had previously guaranteed the wedding and it went ahead despite the death of the two fathers, whilst both Henry and Margaret were under-age.[44] Robert Tony's father had contracted a marriage with the Earl of Strathern in 1293, but despite the death of Tony's father and the dislocation caused by the Anglo-Scottish wars from 1296, the marriage took place during the short period when he was in the king's ward between 1295-97.[45] Both these cases demonstrate how binding the marriage contract was: in the case of the Lacy-Longspée marriage, two wealthy heirs had come into the king's hands as minors but the king felt duty-bound to guarantee the contracted marriage in his role as guardian of the minor's interests.

Grants of wardship were a fiercely sought-after prize for members of the English aristocracy and a great source of patronage for the crown to dispense. A prospective guardian may have wished to supplement his income through the farm of a ward's lands or else cultivate social ties through marriage of a ward to a member of his own family.[46] As the granting out of wardship was the prerogative of the crown a suppliant would need either deep pockets to purchase a wardship or influence at court to get one granted to them. The sums required to purchase a wardship could be huge: Hugh Bigod, fourth Earl of Norfolk, paid £3,000 for the ward and marriage of Philip Kyme, whom he wedded to his daughter

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[42] Waugh, *Lordship of England*, pp.150-1; I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of the Origin and Descent, 1086-1327* (Oxford. 1960), p.34; *CIPM*, 6: no.249.

[43] *GEC*, 7: 681-2.

[44] Waugh, *Lordship of England*, p.200.

[45] *CDS*, 2: no.666.

[46] Waugh, *Lordship of England*, p.207.

Joan.[47] However, it was those closest to the king who tended to benefit most from the grant of wardship. They proved an excellent source of patronage for the crown and were often used to reward royal servants and household knights. Advowsons that came to the crown through wardship were often granted to royal clerks to provide them with a stipend. Marriages could also be granted to royal clerks. Walter of Norwich, Edward II's treasurer, was granted the marriage of Robert Ufford who was married to Walter's daughter Margaret 'in aid of the expenses of his office'.[48] As Waugh points out, grants to men such as Walter of Norwich raised the status of royal servants and also went some way to integrating the landholding and ministerial class.[49]

Many of the household knights from our samples also benefited from royal patronage with the grant of wardship. We have already noted how Robert Vere and John Botetourt remained unmarried until they were in their thirties. Both had served the crown vigorously in their batchelorhood and were rewarded with the grant of marriage of rich heiresses. Eustace Hatch was also a beneficiary of grants of ward. In 1284 he was granted the marriage of the heirs of John Hardshull, whose son William he married to his daughter Juliana with their lands held in joint tenure.[50] Hatch was also granted wardship of the heirs of Peter Goushill and Roger de la Hide, which were no doubt to his financial benefit.[51] Whereas Vere, Botetourt and Hatch had all gained financially through grants of wardship, a favourite of Edward I and strenuous soldier and administrator, John St. John senior, used his influence at court to strengthen his dynastic ties. In 1292 St. John was granted the marriage of the heirs of Hugh Courtenay.[52] St. John took full advantage of this grant, marrying his son John junior to Hugh Courtenay's daughter Isabel. He also married his own daughter Agnes to Hugh Courtenay's son and heir Hugh.[53] This double marriage created a very strong link between a rising family such as the St. Johns and the wealthy west-country family of Courtenay, and no doubt raised the status of the St. Johns. Indeed Agnes would later become a countess when Hugh was created Earl of Devon in 1335.

The king could also use wardships to establish ties between the court and the wider aristocracy. This is no doubt what Henry III had in mind in 1247 when he married the

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[47] *GEC*, 7: 352-54.

[48] *CPR*, 1313-17, p.620.

[49] Waugh, *Lordship of England*, p.186.

[50] Ibid., p.102.

[51] *GEC*, 6: 387-88.

[52] *CPR*, 1281-92, p.483.

[53] This is the Hugh Courtenay that served on the 1300 campaign with both St. John senior and his brother-in-law.

sixteen-year-old John Warenne, then in his ward, to his uterine sister Alice, daughter of Hugh, Count of La Marche.[54] Alice's brothers William and Aymer had also decided to make their fortunes at the English court and proved unpopular with the indigenous nobility. This marriage was no doubt part of a concerted effort to establish the Lusignans into the English aristocracy. If Henry III's attempts to bind the court and provincial aristocracy together through marriage were rather clumsy and unsuccessful, Edward III proved a past master at it. Roger Mortimer of Wigmore had been the bane of Edward's father's reign and was instrumental in Edward II's fall and Edward III's subsequent tutelage. The *coup d'état* that saw the establishment of Edward III's personal rule, brought about Roger's execution and left his three-year-old grandson and heir as a royal ward. Roger junior could have provided a threat to Edward in terms of any possible revenge that he might have sought on his grandfather's executioner. In 1336 Edward granted his marriage to William Montagu, one of his most loyal supporters and closest friends; and Montagu married him to his daughter Philippa.[55] As it turned out, this was a shrewd move; Roger Mortimer junior proved a loyal servant of the crown, a founder knight of the Garter and was raised to comital rank as the second Earl of March in 1354. This marriage was also advantageous to Montagu, both through his marriage into another marcher family and in terms of prestige. Although Roger Mortimer's grandfather had been disgraced, he had still been of comital rank: the year after Philippa's marriage to Roger, William Montagu himself was raised to comital rank as Earl of Salisbury.

Although superficially it may seem that the grant and sale of the marriages of wards had an effect on the direction of marriage strategies of the land-holding elite, this is not necessarily the case. A guardian was obliged to look after the welfare of his ward and in many ways acted as a surrogate father. In arranging a marriage for his ward, the marriage must not be of a disparaging kind. A ward also had the right to refuse his marriage partner, although as Waugh points out, this did not necessarily mean they had the right to choose.[56] As such, this tended to reinforce the social endogamy we have noted for marriages arranged by the parents of young couples. As with a parent's choice, the king or guardian had to take similar factors into account: the descent of lands, political associations and social homogeneity. In this respect the landholding class had a community of interests when considering their marriage partner. Thus, marriage could have as much effect in binding the sample together and defining them as a group as their position as military and political elites.

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[54] *GEC*, 12, pt.1: 503-7.

[55] *GEC*, 8: 442-5.

[56] Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, p.319; Waugh, *Lordship of England*, pp.229-30.

The Quality of Marriage Alliances: Case Studies in Heraldry and Identity and the Strength of the Political Networks Created by the Marriage of Roger Mortimer's Daughters

So far we have focused our attention on how marriage networks were created and suggested some of the more important motives for marriage between aristocratic families. This section attempts to ascertain the quality of marriage networks, or to put it another way, what did it mean for the members of our samples to marry into another family? An obvious starting place for such an enquiry would be to look at the changing fashions in relation to heraldic display. The incorporation of heraldic arms in stained glass windows, manuscripts, architectural designs, sculpture, and a whole host of other elements of material culture provide a lasting testament to individual or familial ownership or association with institutions, buildings and personal effects. John Cherry has shown that, from the middle of the thirteenth century, heraldry in decoration was to be found on a vast array of items associated with the nobility, from horse trappings, to seals, and in decoration in castles, parish churches, cathedrals, on sepulchral monuments and even down to the clothing that members of the nobility and their followers wore.[57] So extensive was the proliferation of heraldic designs in the later middle ages that even *objets d'art* and beautifully crafted items such as the Valence casket were adorned with heraldry as a mark of ownership and association.[58] In looking for the quality of marriage networks, heraldry is most revealing, for as A. R. Wagner asserts, heraldry is not heraldry 'without the element of inheritance'.[59] Younger sons tended to bear their father's arms, differenced, until the heir succeeded the father and was able to bear the arms in the same way that his father had done. How then did marriage into a family with its own proud history and heraldry affect the bearing of arms in the late thirteenth and fourteenth century?

During heraldry's formative period marriage played an important part in the adoption of armorial designs. Long ago the prodigious antiquarian Camden noticed that 'many Gentlemen [began] to bear Arms by borrowing from their Lords' Arms of whom they held in Fee, or to whom they were most devoted.'[60] Therefore, many of the 'Gentlemen' of the Cheshire area adopted the wheat sheaf, a design incorporated into armorial bearings of

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[57] J. Cherry, 'Heraldry as Decoration in the Thirteenth Century', in W. M. Ormrod (ed.), *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1989 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1991), pp.123-34. Also, see below, p.206-7.

[58] J. Alexander and P. Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400* (London, 1987), no.362.

[59] A.R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages: An Inquiry into the Growth of the Armorial Functions of Heralds*, 2nd edn. (London, 1956), p.12.

[60] Quoted from Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p.19. Parenthesis added.

the lord, the Earl of Chester. However, as Wagner points out, intermarriage also played an important role in the adoption of armorial designs. One of the earliest and most famous examples was the adoption of the checky arms of Vermandois on the seals of both Waleran, Count of Meulan and Lord of Worcester, and the Warenne family. Particularly interesting for our purposes is that Waleran inherited his coat of arms from his mother's side of the family, Ralph, Count of Vermandois (1116-52) being his maternal uncle. These arms were not only borne by Waleran's descendants, but also, through his mother's second marriage, the checky arms were adopted by the Warenne family and the old earls of Warwick.[61] So it seems that in the early days of heraldry, the rules regarding the adoption of arms were sufficiently fluid to allow a family to accentuate its most prestigious familial ties even if they were passed down from the mother's side of the family.

By the mid thirteenth century the standardisation of the language of blazon and the proliferation of rolls of arms, demonstrates that most of the more important families had decided upon the design of their arms, which were adopted by subsequent generations.[62] Nonetheless, there was still scope for an individual to changes his arms and marriage could be an important stimulus for such a decision. An early example from the sample comes from Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. Henry's grandfather bore the arms *quarterly or and gules a bend sable*, one of a series of arms, including those of the families of Say, Vere, Clavering and Beauchamp of Bedford, derived from Geoffrey of Mandeville Earl of Essex in the reign of King Stephen.[63] In the earlier part of Henry Lacy's career, he bore the same arms as his grandfather. However, from about 1290 he began to display the arms: *Or, a lion rampant purpure*.[64] The change of arms was surely connected to Lacy's marriage to Margaret, daughter of William Longspée Earl of Salisbury, whose arms were: *Azure, six lions rampant or*, but why he should have chosen to change his arms as late as 1290 is a mystery, although it could relate to an unknown territorial claim.[65]

Another man to change his arms was John Cromwell, who abandoned his hereditary arms of *Azure, a lion rampant with a forked tail argent crowned* and adopted the Vipont

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[61] Ibid., pp.14-5.

[62] G. J. Brault, 'The Emergence of the Heraldic Phrase in the Thirteenth Century', *Coat of Arms* 61 (1965): 186-92.

[63] Wagner, *Heraldry and Heralds*, p.17; C.W. Scott-Giles, 'Heraldry in Westminster Abbey', *Coat of Arms* 51 (1962): 92-3.

[64] Although he occasionally sealed with the old quarterly arms, even as late as 1300. R. H. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office: Personal Seals,* 2 vols. (London, 1978-81), P440; W. de Grey Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 6 vols. (London, 1887-1900), 6159.

[65] *GEC*, 7: 681-2; Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, 2:378.

arms *Gules, six annulets or* after marrying Iodina daughter and co-heiress of Roger Vipont.[66] Part of Iodina's inheritance was a claim to the title of Sheriff of Westmorland.[67] Robert Clifford also had a claim to this title through his mother Isabel, Roger Vipont's other daughter and heiress.[68] Clifford and Iodina shared the shrivalty between 1295-1308, but after this date Iodina and Cromwell exchanged their share of the barony of Appleby (and claims to the shrivalty) for that of Staveley in Derbyshire.[69] Cromwell's adoption of the Vipont arms was no doubt intended to boost his own prestige and may have been a conscious effort to maintain his identity with the Vipont family after the abandonment of the Vipont ancestral lands in Westmorland. It is noticeable that Iodina's first husband, Roger Leyburn, did not alter his arms after marriage. Two other knights with northern connections also altered their arms after advantageous marriages. We have already noted Percy's adoption of the *lion rampant* into his arms after his marriage to Eleanor Fitzalan.[70] The other, Robert Willoughby, changed his arms more than most. Originally bearing the arms of *argent, a chevron sable*, he changed his arms to *Or fretty azure* in time for the Caerlaverock campaign.[71] After his marriage to Margaret, sister and co-heiress of Walter Bek and niece and co-heiress of Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham, Willoughby adopted Walter Bek's arms of *Gules, a cross moline argent*. He no doubt adopted these arms in relation to the huge inheritance he would receive in right of his wife, and to portray himself as the natural heir of the Bek family in the Bek ancestral lands.

Edmund Hastings took a novel approach to representing his new-found status after marrying Isabel, daughter and heiress of Isabel, countess of Mentieth, and widow of William Comyn. On the battlefield Edmund continued to display his family arms *Or, a maunch gules*, which as a younger son, was differenced with a label which has been variously described as either *sable*, *azure* or *vert*.[72] This marriage gave him a claim to the earldom of Mentieth which was strengthened in 1296 after Edward I granted Edmund the lands of the Balliol loyalist John Drummond.[73] These lands included Inchmahome in Perthshire, the chief barony in the earldom of Mentieth. From this date Edmund adopted the arms on his

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[66] Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, 2:128-9.

[67] *List of Sheriffs*, p.150.

[68] *GEC*, 3: 290.

[69] Sanders, *English Baronies*, p.84, 104.

[70] See above p.118.

[71] Wright, *Siege of Caerlaverock*, p.28, n.1; *GEC* 12, pt.2, p.658.

[72] Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, 2: 216.

[73] Lord H. de Walden, *Some Feudal Lords and their Seals MCCCI* (Seaford House, 1904), pp.xi, 35-6.

seal: *barry wavy* which correspond to the Drummond arms of *or, three bars wavy gules.*[74] Thus, Edmund was able to portray himself on the battlefield as the proud heir of Hastings, but sealed on official documents as the rightful Earl of Mentieth in his wife's right.

Whereas we have rich documentary sources for the 1300 sample in the many rolls of arms created in the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, the number of these rolls falls away rapidly in the reign of Edward III. Therefore, it is more difficult to chart changes in the armorial bearings of the second sample. Furthermore, the rolls of arms for the reign of Edward III tend to be occasional rolls and there is nothing on the comprehensive scale of the *Parliamentary Roll of Arms*, dating from the reign of Edward II, to ascertain the arms of some of the more obscure captains of the 1359-60 campaign. The arms of some of these men can be found on surviving seals maintained in The National Archives and the British Museum, so we are able to gain a description of the arms, if not the tincture. Despite this lacuna, it seems apparent that developments in armorial design negated the need for the men in this sample to make wholesale changes in their arms in order to illustrate their improved status or claims to lordship through marriage. Two particular developments in this respect are the quartering and impaling of arms. Impaling of arms was particularly popular on the seals of noble wives. However, it seems that this practice only became popular in the early fourteenth century as some of the wives of the members of the 1300 sample merely adopted their husband's arms on their seals. For example William Latimer's wife Alice sealed with her husband's arms of *a cross patonce* in 1311 and in 1280 John Segrave's wife Christine sealed with her husband's arms of *a crowned lion rampant.* It is not clear whether these women had their own seals or whether they just sealed with their husbands' matrix as a mark of authority.[75] An early example of a wife including more than one set of arms on her seal is that of Sybil Tregoz, wife of William Grandison. Rather than impaling her arms, she displayed within a trefoil the arms of her husband, the Tregoz arms of her father and the Fitzwarin arms of her mother, demonstrating the distinguished lineage on both sides of her family and her present marriage.[76]

By the mid fourteenth century, impaling of arms was a common form of representation for the wives of the nobility. From the 1359-60 sample we see Edward Despenser's wife Elizabeth sealing with the Despenser arms of a *lion rampant, quell fourchee* on the dexter and the Burghersh arms of *a griffin couchant* on the sinister.[77]

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[74] Ibid., p.35, Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, p.219, Birch, *Catalogue of Seals,* 10,531.

[75] Birch, *Catalogue of seals,* 11,242 (Latimer), 6,712 (Segrave).

[76] Ibid., 10,201; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, P1463.

[77] Birch, *Catalogue*, 9,274.

Likewise the wife of William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, sealed with her husband's arms of *three lozenges conjoined in fess* on the dexter and the Mohun arms of *a cross engrailed* on the sinister.[78] The heraldry of a noble wife graphically illustrates what it meant to be married into another family. It is demonstrated as a union between two families: the wife's identity is not subsumed by that of her husband's family, and pride in her own lineage is adequately demonstrated on her shield. Usually the husband's arms take pride of place on the dexter side, representing the wife's new family. Considerations of status, however, could lead to the wife's arms being represented on the dexter. Henry Beaumont's mother Katherine, countess of Atholl, sealed with *a paly of six*, the ancestral arms of the Strathbogie earls of Atholl on the dexter and the Beaumont arms of *seme-a-lys, a lion rampant baston* on the sinister. Katherine clearly felt that the Strathbogie arms outranked those of Beaumont.[79]

One of the earliest examples of the quartering of arms comes from a member of the 1300 sample.[80] Simon Montagu's arms are shown on the *Parliamentary Roll of Arms* as *quarterly, 1 and 4 argent, a fess indented gules, 2 and 3 azure, a griffin sergeant or*. The griffin seems to have been Simon's personal symbol and the *argent, fess indented gules* were the arms borne by his father William. It has been suggested that the *fess indented* was intended to represent a pointed hill, a play on words for the family name, *Monte Acuto*.[81] On the baron's letter to the Pope in 1301, Simon Montagu sealed with *fess of three fusils*, which became standard arms for the Montagu family on the main seal and a *griffin sergeant* on the counter seal. The quartering of his arms seems to be a natural progression to the dual symbol used on his seal and at the time a unique innovation in England;[82] but they become much more popular after Edward III quartered his own arms with royal arms of France in 1340. All of the king's children quartered their arms with France and England with a differencing label and it would be a feature of the royal arms from this time forward. Although quartering amongst the rank and file of the nobility did not really become common until the fifteenth century, John of Gaunt shows how marriage can be portrayed in this way after his politically important second marriage to Constance of Castile. In 1386 Gaunt sealed with the arms on the dexter side, quarterly the arms of Castile and Leon and on the sinister side quarterly the arms of France and England.[83] Of course Gaunt incorporated these

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[78] Ibid., 11,842.

[79] Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, P65.

[80] Charles Boutell states that Montagu was the 'first English Subject who is recorded to have quartered arms.' C. W. Scott-Giles and J. P. Brooke-Little, *Boutell's Heraldry*, rev. edn. (London and New York, 1963), p.135.

[81] C.W. Scott-Giles, *The Romance of Heraldry* (London, 1951), p133 n.1.

[82] Scott-Giles and Brook-Little, *Boutell's Heraldry*, p.135.

[83] Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, 12,694.

arms into his own shield in order to push his claims to the throne of Castile and Leon rather than any delight in being married to Constance. In 1392, after Gaunt had effectively sold off his claim to the Spanish crown, he relegated the arms of Castile and Leon to the sinister side.[84]

In a very rare case John Marmion (d.1387), member of the 1359-60 sample, changed not just his arms, but also his entire identity, as a result of a marriage alliance. John's father was John Grey of Rotherfield who married Avice daughter of John Marmion (d.1335) and Maud Furnival. Maud and John had a son and heir Robert (d.1360): however he seems to have been an idiot, or incapacitated in some way, and the formidable Maud took control of family affairs on her husband's death. In 1343 she bestowed the Marmion possessions on her daughter Avice and her husband on condition that their second son John adopted the Marmion arms and name.[85] This case is illustrative of the widespread fear of failure in the male line and extinction of the family name.

For those men who adopted their wives' heraldry, and through the actions of the Marmion family, it seems that the primary consideration in the way that their marriage connections are represented relates to concerns of lordship and ownership of land. Without the store of information that we find in private correspondence in the fifteenth century, it may be that the evidence considered in this chapter is skewed in favour of the considerations of the marriage strategies. However, it may be that for the landed aristocracy these were the most important considerations in creating marriage networks. We earlier noted that political considerations were also an important factor in arranging marriages. We have already touched upon the difficulties surrounding the marriage of the Clare heiresses and we will round off this section on the quality of marriage networks by looking at the marital alliances created by Roger Mortimer of Wigmore in order to counter the threat of the Despensers in the late 1310s and 1320s. How well did these alliances stand up to the pressure of the civil wars that divided the English aristocracy during the reign of Edward II?

The premature death of Gilbert the last Clare Earl of Gloucester created a power vacuum in the Welsh Marches, and the division of the Clare estates seriously altered the balance of power in that region. The established Marcher lords may have feared the consequences of the marriages of Margaret and Elizabeth to the royal favourites D'Amory and Audley in 1317, but it was the ambition of Hugh Despenser the younger through his

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[84] Ibid., 12,695; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, P1596.

[85] B. Gittos and M. Gittos, 'Motivation and Choice: The Selection of Medieval Secular Effigies', in P. R. Coss and M. Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, (Woodbridge, 2000), pp.163-5; *GEC* 8: 521, n.j.

marriage to the elder Clare sister, Eleanor, which was the greatest cause for concern.[86] As N. Fryde affirms, Despenser's favour at court presented a novel threat to other Marcher lords as 'he was seizing any neighbour's lands that he desired and covering himself with royal grants to achieve virtual immunity.'[87] By 1319 the situation on the March had become very serious with Despenser's retainers border-skirmishing with John Giffard of Brimpsfield's tenants in Cantref Bychan and Cantref Mawr and by Despenser's attempts to seize the important lordship of Gower, whose estates were a target for both Mortimer and the Earl of Hereford. Fryde states that Mortimer was particularly nervous of Despenser's power, as Hugh coveted some of his castles.[88] This nervousness does seem to be reflected in Mortimer's attempts to shore up support in the form of the marriages that he arranged with two of his daughters to the sons of important Marcher families.

In April 1319 his daughter Maud married John Cherleton heir to the lordship of Powis and later the king's chamberlain during the 1359-60 campaign. The following month another daughter Margaret was married to the heir of the Berkeley family, Thomas, third Lord Berkeley.[89] This alliance created another shift of power on the Marches, this time towards the Mortimer family. The Berkeley family had been from the middle of the thirteenth century retainers of the Valence family. Thomas, third Lord Berkeley, his father Maurice and his grandfather Thomas, first Lord Berkeley, had all served together in the retinue of Aymer Valence, Earl of Pembroke, on four occasions, crossing the Scottish border in 1297, 1298, 1299, and 1314 when Maurice was captured on the field of Bannockburn. In addition to those occasions where the whole family served with Pembroke, Maurice and Thomas junior served in Scotland with the earl in 1308, and Maurice served the earl on his own in 1300 and 1313.[90] This association between Pembroke and the Berkeleys seems to have broken down at some time between 1314 and the raid on Pembroke's manor of Painswick by Maurice Berkeley's sons Thomas and Maurice and their retinue, signified the formal breakdown in their relations. Aymer Valence's biographer J. R. S. Phillips has suggested that Pembroke's failure to provide good lordship to the Berkeleys brought about the abandonment of their allegiance to him. They may have felt that Pembroke could have used his influence with the king to prevent Maurice senior losing his office of Justice of South Wales in 1317, and they may also have felt that Pembroke should have helped them to

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[86] The decoration of Tewkesbury Abbey by the Despenser family is a lasting testament to Despenser's ambition to unify the Clare inheritance under his own lordship. This is discussed below, pp.230-2.

[87] N. Fryde, *Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321-1326* (Cambridge, 1979), p.37.

[88] Ibid., pp.37-39.

[89] *GEC*, 2: 129-130, dates this marriage as before 25 July 1320; however, J. R. S. Phillips places the date of this marriage in May 1319. Phillips, *Aymer Valence*, p.266.

[90] Phillips, *Aymer Valence*, Appendix 2.

push their claims to a share of the Clare inheritance through Maurice's marriage to Isabel, an older half-sister of the three Clare heiresses, who was effectively disinherited by the second marriage of her father Gilbert Clare, Earl of Gloucester (d.1295), to Joan of Acre.[91] The Berkeley's notional claim to a share of the Clare inheritance would certainly have given them common cause with Mortimer against the Despensers and the marriage of Thomas junior and Margaret was no doubt intended to seal this alliance.

During the civil wars of 1321 and 1322 the Berkeleys and the Cherletons remained firmly in the Mortimer camp. In August 1321 we find Maurice Berkeley and his son Maurice pardoned for any action taken against the Despensers between March and August of that year.[92] The resumption of hostilities in December proved a fiasco for Mortimer, Berkeley and Cherleton. The Marcher lords and the Earl of Lancaster were unable to co-ordinate their actions, allowing Edward II to tackle the Despenser's enemies one by one. The Mortimer family's castles of Welshpool, Chirk and Clun had fallen to a royal army led by the Welshman Gruffydd Lywd and both Roger Mortimer of Chirk and Roger Mortimer of Wigmore submitted to the crown on the 22nd of January 1322.[93] It is possible that Mortimer's capitulation prompted Maurice Berkeley's surrender on the 6th of February, as up to this time the Berkeley Castle had been able to resist royal pressure.[94] Maurice had surrendered at the request of his old master the Earl of Pembroke and he had cause to feel that Pembroke had let him down again, as he was soon to join the Mortimers as a prisoner of the Tower. The movements of John Cherleton, husband of Maud Mortimer, are not known: it is however, likely that he submitted to the king at this time as he received a pardon later in 1322.[95] What is certain is that he supported Mortimer and the other Marchers as he is mentioned in the Boroughbridge Roll as an opponent of the king.[96] The Boroughbridge Roll also reveals that Thomas Berkeley junior was present at that battle: he was captured and sent to prison at Wallingford Castle. The importance of the Berkeley alliance to the Mortimers is demonstrated by a couple of Berkeley retainers mentioned on this roll. As well as Maurice and Thomas, Thomas Bradestone and John Mautravers appear on the roll, signifying that the group described by Phillips as the 'Berkeley sub-retinue' had left Pembroke's pay and gone

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[91] Part of the marriage settlement was that the Clare inheritance would pass to their heirs of Gilbert's second marriage to this royal princess. Ibid., pp261-5.

[92] *CPR*, 1321-24, p.16.

[93] Philips, *Aymer Valence*, p.221, n.6.

[94] Fryde, *Tyranny and Fall*, p.55.

[95] *CPR*, 1321-24, p.202.

[96] *GEC*, 2: Appendix C.

with the Berkeleys to the Mortimer side. It is worthwhile noting that several other veterans of the Caerlaverock campaign opposed the king at Boroughbridge. Apart from the baronial leaders Thomas Earl of Lancaster and Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, these were: Bartholomew Badlesmere, whose daughter was married to Roger Mortimer's son and heir Edmund in 1316; John Botetourt, a retainer of the Earl of Hereford; Henry Tyes; John Rivers, who went into hiding after the battle and was never heard of again; and William Tuchet, a Lancastrian retainer. It is also notable that Peter Grandison, son of the Caerlaverock veteran William, was also a supporter of Mortimer: he would marry yet another of Mortimer's daughters, Blanche, in 1330.

Although the Barons' rebellion in 1322 had ultimately failed, the marriage alliances made between Berkeley and Cherleton with the Mortimer family had secured those families' support against the king and the Despensers. Roger Mortimer was again to use his daughters to secure political alliances though marriage. On Mortimer and Isabella's seizure of power in 1326, Mortimer was raised to the titled nobility the following year as Earl of March. He attempted to cement this position by marrying two of his daughters to other members of the titled nobility. As we have already noted, one daughter, Catherine, had married Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, to quell a longstanding feud between the two families and in a joint ceremony in 1328 another daughter Beatrice was married to Edward son of Thomas Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, and Agnes was married to Lawrence Hastings, heir to the earldom of Pembroke. This was clearly a long-term strategy conceived by March and incidentally one that his young ward Edward III would successfully apply to his own daughters in the future. However, Mortimer's roots were too shallow and opposition to his rule quickly mounted. Hostilities between Mortimer and Henry, Earl of Lancaster, had been at boiling point since late 1327 and the execution of the Earl of Kent for treason in 1330 is testimony to how insecure Mortimer thought his hold on power was. He again turned to his seemingly inexhaustible supply of daughters to shore up his power base in the Welsh Marches. In early 1330 Joan was married to James, Lord Audley of Heleigh, and the final of his seven daughters, Blanche, was married to Peter Grandison whose ancestral lands lay in Herefordshire. Mortimer's fall was so dramatic and happened so quickly that it is difficult to say whether the families Mortimer married into between 1325-1330 would have supported him in a trial of strength against Lancaster or maybe even Edward III.

Conclusion

The effect that marriages had on strengthening the social ties between the members of the two samples has produced a mixed result. Twenty of the men mentioned in the *Song of Caerlaverock* married either the daughters or sisters of other men who took part in that campaign or became brothers-in-law though marriage. In all 32 members of the sample

were directly related in this way and this does not even take into account extended family networks including the marriage of nieces, nephews, cousins and relations between parents and grandparents. The density of marriage connections between the men of this sample can be explained by some of the factors we have suggested as being important in marriage strategy. Most of these men were large landholders and had to consider the descent of their lands and land aggrandisement when the marriage of their offspring came into question. We have also noted that social and political factors were important in arranging marriages. Marriage could cement political ties, as in the case of Mortimer in 1319, and marriage could also lead to social promotion, as it did with Monthermer's creation of Earl of Gloucester after marrying Joan of Acre. The shared concerns in choosing a marriage partner created a community of interests between the members of this sample and thus promoted the social endogamy demonstrated in Table 3.5. In this way marriage networks certainly engendered a feeling of community amongst members of this sample, afforcing ties made through their position as military and political elites.

The situation for the 1359-60 sample, however, is very different. The quality of information for the 1300 sample is much better than that for the 1359-60. Indeed a majority of the marriage partners for this sample have not been found. Of those whose marriages we can determine, only eight men were related through marriage. Although most marriages were arranged with the same consideration of land politics and social expectations, many of the captains included in the second sample had a very different social profile to the first, with fewer men achieving baronial rank. However, many of the studies concerning the gentry have noted how marriages tended to follow the types of marriage strategies we have observed for their social superiors.[97] Nevertheless, it seems that marriage into the highest social ranks, was out of the reach of most of these men; thus social cleavage planes were created on the lines of wealth and status, threatening the idea that the men of our sample were all members of the same community.

However, these social cleavage planes could be overcome through royal service. Guy Brian's marriage career is instructive. His first marriage was to a local heiress, and probably mirrored the marriages of many other of the captains of the 1359-60 sample. However through royal service as an administrator, politician, soldier and diplomat he managed to secure for his second bride Elizabeth, daughter of the first Earl of Salisbury and widow of Hugh Despenser (d.1349). This marriage no doubt came about through a combination of royal favour and the fact that royal service allowed him to move in the same circles of a higher social class. His own promotion to the baronage came after his marriage to Elizabeth.[98]

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[97] See above, pp.111-3.

[98] *GEC*, 2: 361-2.

Regardless of whether marriage was limited to particular status groups within the samples, there is one aspect of marriage covered in this chapter which strongly indicates that all of the men surveyed did form part of a wider community. The public display of marriage ties was important. Through the use of heraldry, either as a series of shields in decoration of buildings, stained glass, or *objets d'art*, or through adopting the arms of a wife's family, or incorporating her family's arms into their own through impaling or quartering, these men were using the same visual symbols to communicate social and political messages.[99] They were advertising their position within the community by the manipulation of familiar symbols which were originally used to identify warriors on the tournament ground or battlefield. To a large extent these symbols were for the exclusive use of the members of the military and political communities discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. Heraldry was a communicative symbol which grew out of the culture of chivalry. In the second half of this thesis we will take a closer look at the shared culture of the men of our sample and how heraldry advertised and shaped identity. For now it is enough to recognise that despite the different wealth and status of the marriage partners of our sample members, all of these men, through their use of heraldry, made use of the same visual symbols, at it may be that the heart of the idea of community lies as much in shared culture as in ties forged through military service, royal office-holding and marriage.

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[99] All of what follows in discussed in more depth in Chapter 5 below.

Part II

Chivalry as Culture

Introduction to Part II

The Concept of Culture

In the first half of this thesis we explored the idea that the late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century military elite formed a definable community. It was argued that through an analysis of the samples' participation in military, political, administrative and judicial service to the crown, and also through their endogamous marriage patterns, these men formed part of a group distinct from other sections of medieval society. In the second half we will examine the shared culture of the men of our sample, namely the culture of chivalry. However, as we noted in the introduction to Part I, culture, like community, is a word used in everyday speech and apparently readily intelligible, but is also often ill-defined. This section will take a closer look at the concept of culture in order to ascertain how it can be usefully used to analyse chivalry.

As with the word 'community', a number of academics have questioned whether the word 'culture' creates more interpretative problems than it solves. In the field of anthropology, Adam Kuper has suggested that anthropologists should perhaps avoid this 'hyper-referential word altogether, and to talk more precisely of knowledge, or belief, or art, or technology, or tradition, or even ideology (though similar problems are raised by that multivalent concept).'[1] James Clifford also recognised problems with the term, but could not refute its utility: 'Culture is a deeply compromised idea I cannot yet do without.'[2] Furthermore, the doyen of culture studies, Raymond Williams, admits that he has often 'wished that I'd never heard the damned word.'[3] That the term culture is so problematic for social scientists is perhaps due to politically motivated misuse of the word. In the post-industrial era the word culture has acquired political connotations that, for the most part, have given it a negative meaning. Kuper cites the example of how the post-war radical Afrikaaner government used the works of the anthropologist W. W. M. Eiselen to give legitimacy to its policy of apartheid. Eiselen believed that culture, rather than race, divided South Africans. Cultural differences were to be valued and 'if the integrity of traditional cultures was undermined, social disintegration would follow.' This theory rejected the idea of cultural exchange; it promoted 'separate development' amongst cultural groups, and

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[1] A. Kuper, *Culture: The Anthropologist's Account* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, 1999), p.x.

[2] J. Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1988), p.10.

[3] Quoted in Kuper, *Culture*, p.1.

ultimately segregation in the name of preserving different cultures.[4] A similar issue has arisen in twenty-first century Britain where critics have questioned the desirability of 'multiculturalism'. Some have argued that 'multiculturalism' highlights the differences between different culture groups and that more emphasis should be placed on integration and common citizenship. The term culture has also become an over-used shorthand in political rhetoric. Politicians are quick to label social problems as cultural, in for example, 'yob culture', 'drug culture' or 'binge-drinking culture.' Considering such emotive usages of the word culture and its use by dubious political organisations to legitimise possibly dangerous social theories, it is perhaps not surprising that many social scientists have become wary of the word and have attempted to find an alternative definition.

Another persistent problem is the association of culture with the humanistic conception of high culture. It is common for culture to be discussed in terms of the aesthetic achievements of a society or community, particularly with reference to the arts and literature. In this sense one would go to an art gallery 'to see some culture'. The main deficiency in this approach to defining the term is that it is highly subjective: in deciding what constitutes culture we are making a value judgement on an artefact or action. Marxist critics would argue that it is an economically elite group within society makes this value judgement. A reaction against the established view of high culture has led to an interest in popular and folk culture as a study in itself and forms the central focus of students in the field of cultural studies.[5] The influence of mass culture, indicating cultural practices and products stimulated by mass production technology, has also received academic attention; particularly as a critique of globalisation and 'Western imperialism'. Conceptions of high, popular, folk and mass culture have certainly muddied the waters.

At the root of this call for the rejection of the word 'culture', as with similar calls for the rejection of 'community', is that both of these words have the strengths and weaknesses that they are instantly recognisable and cognitive to the modern reader; because it is generally understood what a 'culture' or 'community' is, the word is often used in a wide range of contexts creating a multitude of different interpretations and definitions, thus robbing the word of any clarity of definition and meaning. However, this in not necessarily a good reason to reject the term. It may be emotive, but it is also a common currency, a shorthand for a multiplicity of beliefs and behaviour through which we understand the world around us and which acts as a point of reference to better understand the beliefs and behaviour of other culture groups past and present. However, we must be careful to define

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[4] Kuper, *Culture,* pp.xii-xiv.

[5] For a critique of this approach, see, H. Sewell, Jnr., 'The Concept(s) of Culture', in V. E. Bonnell and L. Hunt (eds.), *Beyond the Cultural Turn* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1999), pp.41-2.

precisely how we are going to use the word culture: in this case what do we understand chivalric culture to comprise of?

The debate amongst anthropologists over the meaning of culture may be of some help in formulating a use for the term. The nineteenth-century ethnographer E. B. Tylor has given one of the earliest definitions: in his 1871 monograph, *Primitive Culture*, Tylor states that culture embraces 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.'[6] Here Tylor raises two fundamental maxims of culture: it is learned, and as a result, it can only exist within a society (or perhaps even a community). However, the 'omnibus character'[7] of this definition has led to the criticism of imprecision. Kuper has sardonically commented: 'Culture is a whole; it is learned; and it includes practically everything you could think of, aside from biology.'[8] Yet, few attempts were made to find an alterative universal definition until the 1940s.

The establishment of the interdisciplinary Department of Social Relations at Harvard in 1946, with Talcott Parsons at its head, initiated much of the impetus given to the definition and study of culture. Parsons charged anthropologists with the specific study of culture; a challenge willingly accepted by two leading anthropologists in post-war America, Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn.[9] Kroeber and Kluckhohn wished to move away from the more ethnocentric view of culture, propounded by nineteenth-century anthropologists such as Tylor. After examining over 164 definitions of culture used by anthropologists between Tylor's *Primitive Culture* and the time of their study in 1950,[10] Kroeber and Kluckhohn concluded that: 'Culture consists of patterns explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols' and 'the essential core of culture consists of traditional ... ideas and especially attached to values.'[11]

In 1958 Parsons and Kroeber built upon this work and argued for a separation of the 'social' (relations, systems and organisation) from the cultural. In Parsons and Kroeber's view the 'social' would form the basis of sociological study and culture the preserve of anthropologists:

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[6] E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (London, 1871), p.1.

[7] F. Barth, 'Toward a Richer Description and Analysis of Cultural Phenomena' in R. G. Fox and B. J. King (eds.), *Anthropology Beyond Culture* (New York and Oxford, 2002), p.24.

[8] Kuper, *Culture*, p.56.

[9] Kuper, *Culture*, ch. 2, gives a full account in the development of the study of culture in the social sciences in this period.

[10] Ibid., pp.56-7.

[11] As quoted in ibid., p.58.

> We suggest that it is useful to define the concept of culture for most usages more narrowly than has been generally the case in the American Anthropological tradition, restricting its reference to transmitted and created content and patterns of values, ideas, and other symbolic-meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behaviour and the artefacts produced through behaviour. On the other hand we suggest that the term *society* – or more generally, *social system* – be used to designate the specifically relational system of interaction among individuals and collectives.[12]

The work of Parsons, Kroeber and Kluckhohn is important, not due to their original aim in providing a definition of culture, but by turning the spotlight of social scientist and anthropologists to the study of culture for its own sake. Indeed, spearheaded by Raymond Williams in the 1960s, 'cultural studies' became a discipline in its own right focusing on twentieth-century 'popular culture', with an overtly political message suspicious of the increasing influence of globalisation and mass consumption on culture and society.[13] After Parsons a new generation of social scientists and anthropologists took the study of culture forward and refined the definition of culture and its influence upon behaviour, political action and the shaping of history.

Particularly important in this respect is the work of Clifford Geertz. In the opening chapter of his influential collection of essays *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Geertz proposes that the concept of culture is:

> . . . essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical.[14]

Through his extensive fieldwork in Indonesia and Morocco, Geertz asserted that symbolic action not only reflected the way the world was, but also provided a normative model for action within it. The most celebrated example of the semiotic approach to culture that Geertz promoted is his study of Balinese cock-fighting, which he saw as a metaphor for the relationships in village life in Bali.[15]

Above all, Geertz's semiotic approach laid a greater emphasis on culture as being based in ideas and values. Kuper has described this approach as: 'essentially a matter of ideas and values, a collective cast of mind. The ideas and values, the cosmology, morality,

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[12] A. L. Kroeber and T. Parsons, 'The Concept of Culture and Social System', *American Sociological Review* 23 (1958): 583. Italics as per Kroeber and Parsons.

[13] Kuper, *Culture*, pp.229-37.

[14] C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (London, 1973), p.5.

[15] Ibid., ch.15

and aesthetics, are expressed in symbols, and so – if the medium is the message – culture could be described as a symbolic system.'[16] Strangely however, the emphasis placed on the ideas behind the culture has led to its separation from the conceptual whole. Fredrik Barth has recently written that in defining culture: 'We are thus speaking not of "material culture" or "human behaviour" but the *ideas* behind such manifestations.'[17] Thus, the present anthropological debate of the meaning of culture can only go so far in the study of medieval chivalry. In effect we have to work backwards from Barth's definition. As chivalric culture no longer exists, the only evidence that remains for us to analyse is the 'material culture' that the ideas behind chivalry inspired, as well as descriptive texts which indicate the behaviour of the chivalric community and the chivalric manuals which provided us with models of normative behaviour.

However, there are two elements from the anthropological approach to the study of culture that can be applied to the study of chivalry in this thesis. First of all it must be recognised that culture only exists within individual societies and communities. Culture cannot be removed from this context to take on a life of its own: culture is a product of social interaction within a society or community. As Anthony Cohen makes explicit, culture is 'the community as experienced by its members'.[18] Therefore, in order better to understand chivalry as a culture over the next two chapters we will focus on the cultural practices of the members of our sample who 'experienced' chivalry.

It is axiomatic that any particular culture is given a definite structure by a set of commonly held values which are, in the main, inherited from the social milieu that an individual is born into. It is also true, however, that any set of values is open to change over time, and different interpretations by individual members of a community. With specific reference to chivalry's core values, John Barnie has noted that: 'Some of these values (honour, pride, fealty) were held to be immutable, others (techniques of warfare, standards of civility) were open to change as contemporary practice or fashion dictated.'[19] This idea will be built upon in Chapter 4, where we will take a closer look at the key chivalric value of prowess and assess how the changes in the methods of warfare experienced by the two sample groups challenged the idea of prowess. In this chapter we will also analyse the role that romance literature played in giving shape to the identities of members of our sample and also discussing the cultural exchange of ideas between romance literature and the society in which romance literature found its audience. In chapter 5, we will turn our

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[16] Kuper, *Culture*, p.227.

[17] Barth, 'Description and Analysis', p.24.

[18] Cohen, *Symbolic Construction*, p.98.

[19] Barnie, *War in Medieval Society*, p.58.

attention to the visual symbols of chivalric society and analyse how the martial image in sepulchral monuments and the use of heraldry were adapted to communicate different messages by the members of our sample. It is hoped that approaching chivalry from the perspective of the community that adopted and adapted this culture, we will better understand its manifestation in medieval society and how chivalry evolved over time.

Chapter 4

Chivalric Culture: The Textual Evidence

In any attempt to reconstruct chivalric culture we are confronted with a large corpus of textual material: from manuals regarding the instruction of knighthood to rare chivalric biographies; from the writings of prominent clerics to romance literature; and from chronicles to heraldic poems. Scholars of chivalry have extensively used a combination of these sources in order to explain and give form to the idea of chivalry, whether they considered it an order, a code, a cult, an ethos or in the words of Maurice Keen a 'way of life'.[1] The aim of this chapter is to use the textual evidence produced in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to better understand chivalry, considering it as the shared culture of the members of the sample.

The sheer number of works produced in the period spanning the lifetimes of the men of our sample precludes, in the space of one chapter, a comprehensive review of the textual material available to reconstruct the culture of the community which forms the focus of this thesis. Instead we will concentrate upon two specific forms of textual evidence: late medieval chronicles and romance literature. These sources will be used to assess two different aspects of the relationship between text and culture. The chronicles will be used as a descriptive source material, to gain information on the shared values and cultural practices of the men of our sample. In the introduction to part II it was asserted that an important element of culture was to identify a shared set of values which a particular community embraced. If we consider chivalry as the predominant culture shared by the members of our sample, then we are faced with a number of overlapping and interconnected values. Maurice Keen has identified five 'qualities' or values which were 'clearly regarded as the classic virtues of good knighthood: *prouesse, loyauté, largesse* (generosity), *courtoisie*, and *franchise* (the free and frank bearing that is visible testimony to the combination of good birth with virtue).'[2] This provides a good starting point, but it is also clear that each individual author of chivalric treatises, romances and the writings of churchmen concerning the ordering of society, had a different take on the values important to chivalry. For example, the anonymous author of the late fourteenth-century English alliterative poem *Gawain and the Green Knight* explained that the pentangle on Gawain's shield represented, amongst other things, the five main components of chivalry that Gawain practised: fraunchise, felazschyp (love of your fellow man), clannes (purity of mind and spirit),

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[1] Keen, *Chivalry*, p.17.

[2] Ibid., p.2.

courtaysye and pité (piety and compassion).[3] In fifteenth-century France Alain Chartier in *Le Breviaire de Nobles* produced a list of twelve virtues of knighthood, which added diligence, cleanliness, sobriety and perseverance to the more familiar values of nobility, loyalty, honour, righteousness, prowess, love and courtesy.[4] In this chapter we will focus upon one particular value which was a crucial element of chivalric culture, the value of prowess.

There is a strong case to be made for considering prowess as the keystone of chivalric culture. This was certainly the view of Geoffroi de Charny, whose *Livre de Chevalrie* has rightly been considered by modern historians as a key text in understanding chivalry. The *Livre de Chevalrie* was written shortly after the accession of Jean II, and composed in conjunction with the founding of the Order of the Star.[5] The Order of the Star represented an attempt by Jean II to re-invigorate French chivalry which had failed so dismally to defeat the English in battle, and also to protect the people of France from the ravages of English armies. In *Livre de Chevalrie*, Charny proposes that the failure of French chivalry was due to a failure of prowess. In order that French chivalry regain its prowess, Charny encourages participation in all manner of deeds of arms: 'For I maintain that there are no small feats of arms, but only good and great ones, although some feats of arms are greater worth than others. Therefore, I say that he who does more is of greater worth'.[6] Charny develops this theme by introducing an ascending scale of the worth of deeds of arms, from those displayed in jousts and tournaments up to the most honourable deeds of arms: those performed in war.[7] In order to combat the failures of French prowess Charny also offers a range of practical advice: honourable men should not 'set their minds' on the pleasures of good food and wine in case they should become drunk or fat, nor should they play dice or gamble whilst playing real tennis as some men have lost their chattels and inheritance doing so.[8] These pastimes ruin your physical condition and squander the wealth that is needed to pursue deeds of prowess: nothing should get in the way of a man achieving honour. Throughout his book Charny hoped to raise prowess to the pinnacle of chivalric achievement and improve performance in arms.

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[3] *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed., B. Stone, 2nd edn. (Aylesbury, 1974), p.46, n.652.

[4] R. Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, rev. paperback edn. (Woodbridge, 2000), p.140.

[5] Kaeuper and Kennedy, *The Book of Chivalry*, pp. 49, 52.

[6] Ibid., pp.86-87.

[7] Ibid., pp.86-91.

[8] Ibid., pp.110-13.

Richard Kaeuper has also noted that in romance literature and chivalric biographies such as *L'Histoire du Guillaume le Maréchal* prowess is consistently equated to chivalry; it was 'not simply one quality among others in a list of virtues, prowess often stands as a one-word definition of chivalry in the texts.'[9] For example, Kaeuper notes that the *Mort Artu* repeatedly refers to acts of prowess as 'deeds of chivalry' or 'feats of chivalry' and in *L'Histoire du Guillaume le Maréchal* knights at the siege of Winchester 'sallied forth each day to do chivalry'.[10] Although these sources recognise the centrality of prowess to chivalric culture, they tell us very little about how prowess was performed by the soldiers of the late Middle Ages. In both chivalric biographies and romance literature prowess is presented in an idealised manner; typically with the hero charging into the midst of his enemy on horseback and slashing his sword left and right, breaking the helms and spears of his enemies. In this chapter we wish to ascertain how the members of our sample displayed their prowess. We are keen to learn whether changes in the way that military service was performed (alongside the development of battlefield tactics by the English armies of the mid fourteenth century, where troops dismounted to fight in battle), affected attitudes towards prowess. We will also look at the role of prowess as a socially affirming value for the men of our sample and ask whether their ability in martial pursuits set cultural boundaries between themselves and other sections of society.

In the second half of this chapter we will examine a different facet of the relationship between text and culture. Rather than using the texts as a descriptive force to tell us about chivalric culture, we will assess what role texts played in giving chivalric culture its distinctive form. Concentrating on romance literature, we will evaluate what role the reading of romance played as an aristocratic pastime with a view to determining whether the men of our sample would have been familiar with the legends of romance. We will then go on to the role that romance legends played in giving form to chivalric culture. We will concentrate both on the mimetic qualities of romance, particularly in the manner of holding tournaments, and also look at how various noble families wove the legends of romance into their own family histories, thereby revealing the importance of chivalric legend in the formation of individual and family identity.

The Chroniclers of Chivalric Culture.

The wars of Edward I in Scotland and Edward III in France profoundly influenced the writing of chronicles in the later Middle Ages. During this period chronicles not only recorded history from the perspective of their authors, but also played a role in shaping

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[9] Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p.135.

[10] Quotations, ibid., pp.137, 139; the centrality of prowess to chivalry is discussed in further detail, pp.135-43.

history. This was particularly evident during the crisis of the Scottish succession in 1291. Edward I ordered several of England's great monastic houses to send him their chronicles, in order that the king could put together a strong case for his claim to be the adjudicator of the 'Great Cause'.[11] These chronicles were used to collect information on each occasion that the king of Scotland was said to have done homage to the king of England from a period stretching from 901 to 1251. Consequently, Edward I appeared before the preliminary meeting of the Great Cause at Norham in May 1291 with a strong legal and historical argument for his claim, and the Community of Scotland and the claimants to the Scottish throne accepted his role of arbiter of the case. After his success in this case, Edward I wrote to the greater religious houses with copies of letters outlining the agreements made at Norham so that they would be inserted into the chronicles of these houses 'to the perpetual memory as to what has been done'.[12] The Scots' acceptance of Edward as overlord of the Scottish king was thus fossilised in the text of several chronicles. The Bury St. Edmunds chronicler neatly encapsulated this idea, stating that Edward 'wished to place the memory of this deed and his action on permanent record for all time'.[13] Through this action those monastic chroniclers who copied these letters into their chronicles were stimulated to take a direct interest in Edward's affairs in Scotland.

The assertion of the English king's claims to the overlordship of Scotland and the savage wars that followed in the 1290s and early fourteenth century that followed, especially stirred the interest of chroniclers from northern monasteries. The periodic raids of Scottish armies gave these chroniclers a direct experience of the war, and its progress was charted in detail in several texts. In particular the chronicles of Lanercost Priory, Walter Guisborough and Peter Langtoft provide excellent sources for the wars in which the members of our first sample played a major role. Indeed, Langtoft's chronicle embraced the spirit of chivalry that these wars prompted. His chronicle is written in French verse and covers a period stretching from the arrival of Brutus on British shores until the death of Edward I in 1307.[14] His narrative is interlaced with chivalric legend and owes something in its style to romance literature. For example he compares Edward's second wife favourably to a heroine of

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[11] E. L. G. Stones and G. G. Simpson, (eds.), *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland, 1290-96: An Edition of the Record Sources for the Great Cause*, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1978), 1: 139-43, 222-3; 2: 6; A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550 - c.1307* (London, 1974), p.440 n.11, 441-2; C. Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London and New York, 2004), pp.65-7.

[12] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p.67.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Antonia Gransden provides a useful summary of this chronicle in, A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550 - c.1307* (London, 1974), pp.476-86.

romance: 'There is more goodness and beauty, whoever looks at her, / Than in the fair Ydoine whom Amadas loved'.[15] In justifying Edward I's claims in Scotland Langtoft relied on the legends of Brutus and King Arthur, and English successes were hailed as the fulfilment of Merlin's prophecies.[16] Edward I is consistently compared with King Arthur. Sometimes he was compared favourably, as in 1295 when Edward seemed to have united the kingdoms of England and Scotland, Langtoft declared that 'Arthur had never [held] the fiefs so fully'.[17] At other times he fell short of the model of chivalry to which Arthur represented the high benchmark; notably the failure of the Caerlaverock campaign (1300) to produce a decisive result was blamed on Edward's lethargy and delight in luxury as well as his failure to display largesse to his barons: he should have taken the 'example of Arthur the Wise' as 'A prince more courteous in conquering lands / Was never born among Christians'.[18]

Langtoft's chronicle provides a significant break in its form and content from the monastic chronicles of the thirteenth century. Chris Given-Wilson has written that 'many medieval chroniclers did not write for a "public" audience, but primarily or even solely for (in the case of monastic chroniclers) their fellow monks or canons';[19] however, the composition of Langtoft's chronicle in French verse, and his interest in war, chivalry and chivalric legend, suggest that it had a secular appeal. As Gransden notes, the chronicle seems to have been fairly popular, surviving in fifteen extant manuscripts and not long after its completion it was translated into English (Langtoft's chronicle also became a source for the English prose *Brut*).[20] A subtle difference between Langtoft and many of his contemporaries is that he was less interested in events than he was in deeds. The golden age of military achievement by the English army during the Hundred Years War stimulated the interest of other chroniclers in the deeds of those who fought in those wars, rather than merely cataloguing events. Indeed for some chroniclers, the recording of deeds of arms was the primary motivation for the writing of their chronicles, as Froissart famously asserted in the prologue to his *Chroniques*:

> To thentent that the honorable and noble aventures of featis of armes, done and achyved by the warres of France and Ingalande, should notably be inregistered and put in

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[15] *Langtoft*, 2: 316-7.

[16] Gransden, *c.550 – c.1307*, pp.477-8.

[17] *Langtoft*, 2: 264-5.

[18] Ibid., 2: 326-8.

[19] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, pp.xx-xxi.

[20] Gransden, *c.550 – c.1307*, p.480.

> perpetual memory, whereby the prewe and Hardy may have ensample to incourage them in theyr well doying . . . [21]

This interest in recording the deeds of the principal protagonists of the Hundred Years War prompted a different type of chronicler from those of the great monastic houses. Antonia Gransden has remarked upon the growth of chronicles written by secular clerks and laymen during the reign of Edward III. She suggests that lay patronage stimulated this growth in 'secular' chronicles: 'The great men of the day liked listening to history books being read out loud' and this in turn led to a rise in the number of vernacular chronicles.[22] The Hainaulters Jean le Bel and Jean Froissart certainly wrote their histories for noble consumption and their associations with the English court makes them an invaluable resource for the study of chivalry in England during the fourteenth century.[23] The Chandos Herald's verse *Life of the Black Prince* was also probably written for consumption at the English court.[24] However, there was clearly a taste for 'chivalric' chronicles outside of the court milieu. Geoffrey le Baker of Swinbrook in Oxfordshire wrote a Latin chronicle under the patronage of a local knight, Sir Thomas de la More (who had played a minor role in the deposition of Edward II and added some eye-witness testimony to le Baker's accounts), although the positive light in which the Bohun family is portrayed suggests that le Baker may also have written to please the earls of Hereford who were large landowners in the Swinbrook area.[25] Perhaps the most remarkable chronicle of this type is the *Scalacronica* of Sir Thomas Gray of Heton. Unlike Froissart, le Bel and le Baker, Gray was a knight from Northumberland who had experienced war at first hand.[26] He stated that one of the purposes of his chronicle was to 'translate into the shorter sentences the chronicles of Great Britain and the deeds of the English';[27] this, along with his use of Anglo-Norman prose, suggests that his target readership might be men similar to himself: aristocratic warriors.

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[21] *Froissart*, 1: 17.

[22] A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c.1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982), p. 62.

[23] Ibid., pp.83-9.

[24] Ibid., pp.97-100.

[25] Ibid., p.39; Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p.17.

[26] He served in the retinue of William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury in 1338; was present at the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346; and was appointed as sheriff and constable of Norham in 1345 (his father had been the constable of Norham Castle in the early fourteenth century). In 1355 the Scots attacked Norham and took Gray prisoner. It was whilst he was incarcerated in Edinburgh prison that he wrote his chronicle. Gransden, *c.1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century*, pp.92-3.

[27] *Scalacronica*, p.viii.

The greatest difference between these 'chivalric' chroniclers and their monastic counterparts was that they were not necessarily interested in chronology; indeed chroniclers such as Froissart have been criticised by modern scholars for their regular lapses in historical accuracy. As Given-Wilson points out, their purpose was to disseminate the reputations of the great warriors of their age. Descriptions of campaigns and battles may include references to strategy and tactics but the focus of their accounts was 'to ensure that they included as full and correct as possible a list of the major participants and the deeds which they performed'.[28] Thomas Gray is typical in this attitude. His descriptions of the wars of Edward I provide him with an opportunity to recount the exploits and adventures of his father who is one of the principal 'heroes' of his chronicle. For example the significance of William Wallace's attack on Lanark in 1297 lay less in the political consequences of this insurrection and more in the chance it gave to Gray to relate that his father, who was in the service of the sheriff of Clydesdale at the time, had been stripped naked by the Scots and left for dead, only surviving because of the heat of two burning houses which he had lain between.[29] Later in his chronicle, his account of the siege of Stirling (1304) is dominated by the story of how Gray senior, in his attempts to rescue his master Henry Beaumont, received a blow below the eye from a springald. He was again left for dead, but luckily gained consciousness before a burial party interred him alive.[30] The early part of Gray's chronicle relied heavily on Gray senior's eyewitness testimony, and events are often seen from his father's perspective. However, his accounts of the wars of Edward III were based more on his own memory and the testimony of his companions in arms.[31] Anecdotes of the deeds of arms of individual knights and esquires dominate this section of his chronicle. His description of the 1359-60 campaign interweaves a standard narrative of the events of the campaign with vignettes of individual chivalric deeds, such as the jousts of war that occurred between members of the English and French armies and the entertaining tale of how James Pipe escaped his captors at the Tower of Epernon.[32] Indeed, he claims that so many military adventures befell the English everywhere during this campaign that he was only able to record 'the more notable ones'.[33]

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[28] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p.102 and more generally, pp.102-111.

[29] *Scalachroncia*, p.18.

[30] Ibid., pp.25-6.

[31] Gransden, *c.1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century*, pp.92-6.

[32] *Scalacronica*, pp.145-59; the story of James Pipe: pp.154-5.

[33] Ibid., p.156.

For the chroniclers of chivalry such as Gray, Le Bel, Froissart, the Chandos Herald and even le Baker, their main concern was to record displays of prowess and the honour that could be gained through prowess. It is not that other values of chivalric culture such as courtesy, loyalty, largesse and *fine amor* were ignored, it was just that they were not lingered over to the same extent as in, for example, romance literature. The Chandos Herald's description of the winter court of the Prince of Wales held at Bordeaux is typically light on details: 'Afterwards the Prince returned, and remained at Bordeaux till the winter was over. He and all his knights in great joy and festivities were there . . . There was jollity and nobleness, sincerity bounty and liberality . . .'[34] This description of the Black Prince's court is rather formulaic; later in the piece he gives a remarkably similar description of the Prince's famous court in Aquitaine: 'There was found all nobleness, all joy and merriment, bounty, freedom and honour.'[35] The Chandos Herald assumes we can 'take as read' that the Prince and his knights were the epitome of chivalry and virtue, that they spoke and acted with courtesy, that they showed liberality with their possessions, that they bore themselves nobly and that the treatment of their ladies fell firmly within the conventions of *fine amor*. All displays of these qualities were important in the formation of chivalric culture, not least that in displaying these outward forms of behaviour, they set cultural boundaries between those who were noble and chivalrous and those who were not. However, for the chroniclers of chivalry this was all secondary to the recording of prowess. The descriptions of battle scenes in the *Life of the Black Prince* run to thousands of lines, illustrating the high worth of prowess and the pursuit of honour, whereas the descriptions of other chivalric values were treated in a perfunctory manner. Prowess was the keystone of chivalric culture and in the next part of this chapter we will go on to look at the importance of this value in the lives of the men of our sample and their contemporaries, and assess whether these values changed from the late thirteenth century to the closing of the fourteenth century.

The Chivalric Value of Prowess

The term chivalry was used by chroniclers both to describe deeds of prowess and as a collective noun describing the elite warriors who held prowess in great esteem. In Chapter 1 we noted that the men in our sample formed an elite in military society; they were the leaders of retinues and often had prodigious campaign records. For these men military service was an important part of their individual and collective identity. Collective identity and shared experiences breed a common *mentalité*, and therefore it is not surprising that for these men, for whom war played such a central role in their lives, would find prowess

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[34] *Chandos Herald*, ll.656-63.

[35] Ibid. ll.616-8.

central to their shared values. After all, medieval warfare was exceedingly violent and bloody battles were fought face-to-face and at close quarters: therefore a high standard of martial ability could save your life. However, prowess should not be equated with violence alone; this was a certain type of violence, associated with nobility and the horse: by the fourteenth century, tradition asserted that the elite warrior was mounted.

For the men of our first sample fighting from the saddle was a very real experience. Walter of Guisborough tells us that in 1296, the Earl of Warenne's veteran cavalry engaged the main cavalry force of the Scottish army who were attempting to relieve the besieged garrison at the castle at Dunbar. The English cavalry were able decisively to defeat and scatter their inexperienced Scottish counterparts. Many Scottish barons and knights were captured and the remainder of the Scottish army retreated in disarray, fleeing forty miles to the shelter of Selkirk forests.[36] The ease of the English victory over the main Scottish army did much to break the morale of the Scottish leadership leading to an almost total collapse of support for John Balliol.[37] Guisborough also assigns a crucial role to the cavalry charge during the battle of Falkirk in 1298. He noted the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln were amongst the leaders of the vanguard which attacked the Scottish position from the western flank and that the Bishop of Durham and Ralph Basset of Drayton led the second division or battle of cavalry troops to attack on the eastern flank. Seeing the numerically superior English cavalry advance, the Scottish cavalry, containing many members of the Scottish political leadership, withdrew without striking a blow. The English cavalry then charged the Scottish archers who had been placed between four great *schiltroms* of Scottish pikemen. These archers, along with their leader John Stewart, suffered great slaughter and were utterly defeated. Without the support of cavalry or archers the *schiltroms* were left isolated and suffered casualties from a rain of arrows, crossbow bolts and stones shot from slings from the English side. With the *schiltroms* sufficiently weakened, the English cavalry initiated a mass charge and utterly broke the Scottish formations causing a complete rout.[38] The Lanercost chronicler also noted the essential role of the cavalry at Falkirk: 'the armoured cavalry of England, which formed the greater part of the army, moving round and outflanking them [the Scots] on both sides, routed them'.[39] Both chroniclers marvelled at the loss of so few English cavaliers in this battle, the Lanercost chronicler boasting that only

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[36] *Guisborough*, p.278. For a more romanticised account see, *Langtoft*, 2: 247-51.

[37] Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp.100-5.

[38] *Guisbrough*, p.325-8. Guisborough provides a very full account of this battle and G. W. S. Barrow has suggested it may be based on an eyewitness account. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p.144, n.3.

[39] *Lanercost*, 1: 166. Parenthesis added.

the Master of the Templars and five or six esquires were killed.[40] However, this may well underplay the English losses and the hard-fought nature of this battle. The *restauro equorum* accounts noted that 110 horses were lost on this campaign and this again may also hide true English losses as usually compensation was only given for the loss of the primary mount.[41] Fiona Watson has also noted that 3,000 infantry troops disappeared off the pay roll in the period covering the battle which suggests that infantry played a greater role in the English victories than the chroniclers would admit.[42]

Throughout much of the rest of Edward I's reign, fear of the power of cavalry led the Scots to refuse open battle with English forces. Edward's 1300 campaign in Dumfries and Galloway ended when the English and Scottish forces faced each other across the river Cree: as the English cavalry, led by the Earl of Hereford, advanced across the river the Scottish cavalry fled into the nearby hills and the English much lamented that they had not brought Welsh hobelars with them to pursue the Scots into this difficult countryside.[43] In 1304 John Segrave, Robert Clifford and William Latimer routed William Wallace and Simon Fraser near Peebles, but the role of cavalry in this battle is not known.[44] However, in John Barbour's *The Bruce* the battle of Methven, near Perth, in 1306 is presented as a classic cavalry battle:

> They levelled their spears on both sides and rode at each other so fiercely that the spears were all smashed, and many men [lay] dead or badly wounded; the blood burst out of their mail-coats, for the best and worthiest who were determined to win honour plunged into the stalwart combat and laid about them with fierce blows. You could have seen knights in that throng who were bold and valiant, [lying] defiled under the feet of horses, some wounded and some dead, [so that] the grass grew all red with blood.[45]

Of course Barbour wished to turn Bruce's discomfit at Methven into a glorious defeat. His description of the battle was written in 1375 long after the event, with the style of his narrative owing much to the realms of romance literature.[46] His account is not supported by other sources which suggest that Bruce's camp was surprised by the advance of Valence

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[40] Ibid.

[41] The *restauro equorum* accounts are printed in Gough, *Scotland in 1298*, pp.161-237.

[42] F. Watson, *Under the Hammer*, p.67.

[43] *Rishanger*, p.442; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp.159-60.

[44] Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p.179.

[45] John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. and trans. A. A. M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1997), pp.98-9.

[46] Langtoft also presents this skirmish in a romantic way, turning the conflict into a single combat encounter between Aymer Valence and Robert Bruce. *Langtoft*, 2: 371.

with many of his men gathering forage and others scattered to find sleeping quarters.[47] It seems that the Bruce was routed rather than bested in a fight between cavalry forces.

It must have seemed to the men of the first sample present at the battles of Dunbar and Falkirk, that the mounted cavalry charge could, as Anna Comnena commented of the Frankish cavalry in the first crusade, 'drive a hole through the walls of Babylon'[48] and that their position as the elite warriors in Edward I's armies on account of their prowess on horseback was unquestioned. However, the identification of prowess and the mounted warrior was seriously threatened during the fourteenth century as the cavalry charge lost its position as the *sine qua non* of battlefield tactics. The shortcomings of the cavalry charge when faced with organised ranks of tightly packed spearmen fighting on foot in a favourable defensive position were revealed when the flower of French chivalry met with humiliating defeat at the hands of the Flemings at Courtrai in 1302.[49] The warning signs for the English army had been present at the battle of Loudon Hill in 1307, where Robert Bruce turned around his defeat to Valence's forces at Methven a year earlier. The Bruce dismounted his small cavalry force and took up a favourable defensive position which enabled him to defeat a cavalry charge from Valence's superior forces.[50] But for the members of the 1300 sample who were present at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314, much worse was to come. The Lanercost chronicler describes how the English cavalry was defeated by the Scottish *schiltroms*: 'the great horses of the English charged the pikes of the Scots, as it were a dense forest, there arose a great and terrible crash of spears broken and destriers wounded to the death'.[51] Amongst the huge number of English cavalry who fell upon the Scottish spears or were slaughtered in the ensuing rout were Robert Clifford, Edmund Hastings, and William Marshal, who had all been present at the siege of Caerlaverock when the English army had appeared irresistible.

A further blow to the prestige of cavalry forces came in the battle of Boroughbridge in 1322. In this battle Lancaster and Hereford's rebel army were faced with a much smaller force of archers and pikemen loyal to the crown, led by Andrew Harcla, sheriff of

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[47] For example, *Guisborough*, p.368; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p.216.

[48] R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1079-1193* (Cambridge, 1956), p.115, n.1.

[49] DeVries, *Infantry Warfare,* ch.1.

[50] This battle made very little impact on the English chronicles, but it receives detailed treatment in Barbour's, *The Bruce*. The author perhaps retrospectively realised that the Bruce's victory in this minor battle gave credibility to his claim to the Scottish crown. Barbour, *The Bruce,* pp.304-9. For a modern analysis of the tactics used at Loudon Hill see, DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, ch.4.

[51] *Lanercost*, 2:208. Such was the great shock of this defeat to English pride that the battle receives extended treatment in many chronicles. The best modern account of this battle remains, Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, ch.12. The site and course of the battle has also received extensive revision by, Reese, *Bannockburn*, chs. 7-11.

Cumberland. In order to force a crossing of the River Ure, Lancaster split his forces into two: Hereford and Roger Clifford attempted to force across a bridge and Lancaster attempted to ford the river further to the east. Harcla's infantry supported by archers at the bridge were able decisively to repel Hereford's cavalry charge and Hereford was killed.[52] Lancaster's forces fared little better, and his attempts to cross the ford were repelled by a volley of arrows. This, combined with the news of Hereford's demise, discouraged Lancaster's army and led to its withdrawal from the field. Commenting on this defeat, the pro-Lancastrian *Brut* declared: 'Allas þe shame & despite, þat þe gentil ordre of knyghthode þhade at þat bataile.'[53] The chronicler has his finger firmly on the pulse in pointing to a feeling of shame: a cavalry force composed of the pride of English chivalry and containing some of the most important political figures in early fourteenth-century England had been defeated by a force of humble foot soldiers from the wilds of northern England. However, Harcla's troops were hardened veterans of border skirmishes with the Scots and had adopted the Scottish tactics which had proved so devastating at Bannockburn.

With the resumption of the wars against Scotland and France during the reign of Edward III, English armies would perfect the tactics displayed by Harcla at Boroughbridge. In the battles of Dupplin Muir (1332)[54], Halidon Hill (1333), Morlaix (1342), Crécy (1346) and a whole host of smaller scale conflicts, the English cavalry would dismount and fight on foot 'against the ancient tradition of their fathers'[55], taking strong defensive positions and supported by archers who utilised the immense hitting power of the longbow.[56] The age of

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[52] *Lanercost*, 2: 232-3. The *Vita Edwardi* asserts that Hereford's force was dismounted and advanced on foot. However, the Lanercost chronicler provides the most detailed account of the battle and its proximity to Carlisle, from whence many of Harcla's troops were stationed, raises the possibility that this account is based upon eye-witness testimony. N. Denholm-Young (ed. and trans.), *Vita Edwardi Secundi* (London, 1957), p.124. c.f. DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, p.96. The battle is treated in depth by DeVries, ibid. ch.7.

[53] F. W. D. Brie (ed.), *The Brut, Or the Chronicles of England, EETS* , 2 vols. 131, 136 (1906-8), 1: 220.

[54] This battle was actually fought between a Scottish army led by Donald of Mar and an army privately raised by Anglo-Scots landowners who had lost their claims to Scottish lands and titles due to the 'shameful' Treaty of Northampton (1328); the titular leader of this army was Edward Balliol son of 'Toom Tabard', King John Balliol, but Henry Beaumont is usually seen by historians as being the military brains behind this adventure. Although the disinherited lords' expedition to Scotland was not officially sanctioned by Edward III, this army included men such as Ralph Stafford and Thomas Ughtred who would take part in many of Edward III's future campaigns and may have been instrumental in promoting the tactics used at Dupplin Muir at Halidon Hill. For the Disinherited and the campaign which culminated in the battle of Dupplin Muir, see Nicholson, *Edward III*, chs. 5 and 6; DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, pp.113-20.

[55] As Geoffrey Le Baker commented of the English tactics at Halidon Hill. *Le Baker*, p.51.

[56] The development of English battle tactics during the 1330s and 1340s is ably summarised by, M. Bennett, 'The Development of Battle Tactics in the Hundred Years War', in Curry and Hughes, *Arms, Armies and Fortifications*, 1-10; DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, pp.191-7; Nicholson, *Edward III*,

the great *destrier*, the essential piece of equipment for a cavalry charge, had passed. Andrew Ayton has charted the average value of horses from the horse inventories made before the campaigns of the fourteenth century. He found that from a high of £16.4 per horse on the Cambrésis-Thiérache campaign (1338-9), the average value of a horse had dropped to £9 by 1359-60. Correspondingly the proportion of horses valued at over £20 in 1338-9 was 29%, whereas in 1359-60 it was 2%.[57] Ayton persuasively concludes that the drop in the cost and consequently the quality of warhorses in this period was 'essentially a consequence of the transformation in the conduct of war in the mid fourteenth century' and that the 'traditional role of the 'great horse' had largely disappeared'.[58] The type of horses now being used on campaign were cheaper and lighter, used to carry a man-at-arms during a campaign rather than in battle where he was more likely to fight on foot.

These developments posed a threat to the aristocracy's identity as the predominant military force in medieval society. Now it was the socially inferior contingents of an army, be they archers or pikemen, who were as likely to turn the course of a battle as the bannerets, knights and esquires. An appreciation of this situation is apparent in the chronicles of the period. The well-known story of William Marmion and the golden helm, which appears in Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*, was written at a time when the cavalry charge was becoming obsolete amongst the English as a battlefield tactic. However, the chronicler's attitude to this incident encapsulates the juxtaposition between chivalry and prowess as they ought to be performed, and the realities of warfare on the Scottish borders in the early fourteenth century, and as such is worth quoting in length. During a feast held in Lincolnshire, William Marmion was presented with a gift from his lady, a helm with a gilt crest. He was told to take this helm to the most dangerous place in Britain to 'cause this helm to be famous'. The knights present at the feast decided that this place should be Norham where the chronicler Thomas Gray's father was constable.[59] As Marmion arrived at Norham 'all glittering with gold and silver, marvellous finely attired with the helmet on his head' a group of Scots led by Alexander Mowbray was approaching the castle. Thomas Gray senior, knowing why Marmion was here, cried aloud to him:

> Sir Knight, you have come as a knight errant to make that helmet famous, and *it is more meet that deeds of chivalry be done on horseback than afoot*, when can be managed conveniently. Mount your horse: there are your enemies: set spurs and charge into their midst . . .'

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passim; A. H. Burne, *The Crecy War: A Military History of the Hundred Years War from 1337 to the Peace of Bretigny, 1360* (London,1955).

[57] See Ayton, *Knights and warhorses*, ch. 6 and Tables 6.1 and 6.2 for statistics quoted above.

[58] Ibid., pp.119-20.

[59] *Scalacronica*, p.61.

> The knight mounted a beautiful charger, spurred forward, [and] charged into the midst of the enemy, who struck him down wounded him in the face, [and] dragged him out of the saddle to the ground.
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> At this moment, up came the said Thomas with all his garrison, with levelled lances, [which] they drove into the bowels of the horses so that they threw their riders. They repulsed the mounted enemy, raised the fallen knight, remounting him upon his own horse, put the enemy to flight . . . [and] captured fifty valuable horses. The women of the castle [then] brought out horses to their men, who mounted and gave chase . . . [60]

It is easy to see why this story had so much appeal to the chronicler. The opening scene at the feast where Marmion receives the helm from his lady could easily have been the opening of an Arthurian romance. The relationship between Marmion and his ladylove is firmly in the world of *fine amor*: he can achieve her love through the achievement of prowess; if he makes her gift to him famous through deeds of arms, the honour he attains reflects upon her. We might also notice that the ladies in the garrison were present when Thomas Gray senior put the Scots to flight: they were observing the prowess of their men and no doubt discussed who had achieved the greatest honour for his lady after the skirmish. Gray's comments to Marmion are also revealing. He describes Marmion in romantic terms as a knight errant. Moreover, in order for him to achieve the greatest honour it is best that Marmion attacks the Scots on horseback. The second part of this story, when the hapless Marmion is brought down by the Scots and rescued by the Norham garrison fighting in close ranks on foot, is intended to emphasise the skill and heroism of his father; nonetheless, it also illustrates the point that Marmion's actions were militarily hopeless.

A similar story told by the Chandos Herald in the *Life of the Black Prince* has a similar outcome. Before the battle of Nàjera, Franco-Castilian forces attacked the English camp and separated a small group of Anglo-Gascon men-at-arms from the main force. These men took up a strong defensive position on a 'small mountain', but William Felton 'the valiant, very boldly and bravely charged among the enemy like a man devoid of sense and discretion, on horseback, lance couched'. Felton went about the enemy like a hero of romance: 'striking a Spaniard upon his flower-emblazoned shield, he made him feel through his heart his sharp blade of steel'; yet unlike the hero of romance he is unable to vanquish overwhelming odds: 'They slew his horse under him, but Sir William Felton defended himself stoutly on foot, like a lion-hearted man; albeit his defence availed him little, for he was slain, God have mercy on him.'[61] In the final analysis Felton's actions did not benefit his cohorts on the hill, and seem to the modern reader an example of reckless courage or

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[60] Ibid., pp.62-3. Emphasis added.

[61] *Chandos Herald*, ll.2729-54.

romantic excess on his part. However, for the Chandos Herald, this desperate dash towards the Castilians brought William Felton much honour and seemed a fitting end to a distinguished career in arms.

The stories of Marmion and Felton were thought worthy of recording as they described an individual prowess achieved, as is most honourable, on horseback, and as such they carry a certain amount of glamour. Combats carried out on foot did not always give the same opportunity for the display of such prowess, as the following excerpts from the life of a member of our sample, John Chandos (d.1370) make clear. John Chandos was one of the principal heroes of the Chandos Herald's *Life of the Black Prince*. This particular passage describes his deeds during the battle of Nàjera and is probably based on eyewitness testimony, possibly from John Chandos himself:

> Great was the din and dust. There was neither banner nor pennon that was not thrown to the ground; such was this fight. Chandos was thrown to the ground and there fell upon him a Castilian of great in stature, Martin Fernandez by name, who struggled hard how he might kill him, and wounded him through the visor. Chandos, right boldly, took a dagger from his side, and struck the Castilian, and plunged the sharp knife into his body. The Castilian fell down dead.[62]

This could be as much a scene from a bar-room brawl as a great chivalric event worthy of remembrance. One can imagine the two men wrestling on the floor before Chandos reached for his knife and plunged it into the Castilian's body. Indeed Chandos met with a less than glorious death in a skirmish on the bridge of Lussac in Aquitaine in 1370, as Froissart recounts:

> This morning there had been a hoar-frost, which made the ground slippery; so that as he [Chandos] marched he entangled his legs with his robe, which was of the longest, and made a stumble: during which time a squire . . . made a thrust at him with his lance, which hit him in the face, below the eye, between the nose and the forehead . . . [Chandos had previously lost an eye in a hunting accident and had not seen the stroke coming] . . . what added to this misfortune, Sir John had not put down his vizor, so that in stumbling he bore upon the lance, and helped it to enter him.[63]

The lance had entered Chandos's brain and he died a day later. If it had not been for the fatal consequences of this incident the idea of Chandos slipping, getting tangled in his surcoat and stumbling headlong onto a lance would seem quite comical. It is likely that the combat described in these two passages was more representative of the experience of war of

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[62] Ibid., ll.3295-311.

[63] Jean Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the adjoining Countries...by Sir Jean Froissart* (Ed. and trans.) T. Johnes, 2 vols. (London, 1848), 1: 436. Parentheses added.

the common knight and esquires than those of Marmion and Felton. The reason that Chandos's experiences have been recounted in detail lie more in their significance to the chronicler than their value as great examples of prowess: the Chandos Herald recounts the story of Chandos at Nàjera to emphasise the central role that he saw his hero as taking in this battle, and Froissart recounts the story at the bridge of Lussac as it brought to a close the lives of one of the central characters of his chronicle.[64]

When it came to describing the confused set-piece battles of the age, the chroniclers of chivalry frequently had difficulty in describing individual deeds of prowess, and often fell back on their own imaginations. Geoffrey le Baker's chronicle is an excellent source for the events of Edward III's wars in France up until 1356. It was written less than ten years after the battle of Crécy, and although he may not have been able to rely on eyewitness testimony, his account of the Black Prince's valour at that battle seems to owe more to the deeds of Lancelot and Gawain than to those of Edward III's armies:

> In such a woeful encounter Edward of Woodstock . . . showed his valour to the French, piercing horses, laying low the riders, shattering helmets and breaking spears, skilfully parrying blows aimed against him, helping his men, defending himself, helping to their feet friends who had fallen, and showing to all an example in well-doing.[65]

Later in his chronicle, and almost contemporaneous with the time of its writing, le Baker struggles to pick out individual deeds of prowess. In his description of the battle of Poitiers, a member of our sample, the Earl of Salisbury (d.1397), is defending a gap in the English line which the French were trying to exploit:

> Then began a terrible encounter between the armed men, struggling with swords and spears. Nor did the archers neglect their duty, but standing safely above the ditch and behind the hedge, forced their arrows to prevail more than the swords and spears, and also shot quarrels from their crossbows repeatedly and in great numbers.[66]

Here we have a classic account of English military tactics during Edward III's reign: the men-at-arms are closely ranked together with levelled spears and swords, and fight in

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[64] In an early passage in his *Chroniques*, Froissart includes Chandos and another three members of our sample Henry, Duke of Lancaster, Reginald Cobham and Frank Hale in a short list of those worthy of record because of their worth and prowess: for in all the battles by sea or land, in which they were engaged, their valour was so distinguished that they should be 'reputed as soveraignes in all chyvalry'. *Froissart*, 1: 19-20.

[65] *Le Baker*, p.84. Translation follows A. R. Myers (ed.), *English Historical Documents V, 1327-1485* (London, 1969), p.81. See also Given-Wilson, p.2-3, for the derivative way that chronicles often portrayed battles.

[66] *Le Baker*, p.147. Translation: Myers, *English Historical Documents*, p.97.

conjunction with the archers, whose hitting power wins the day for the English. In these conditions it is difficult to pick out individual displays of prowess. As Froissart noted of the battle, it was 'right great and peryllous, and many deeds of armes there was done that which all came nat to knowledge.'[67] Moreover, the conditions that a battle was fought under may have inhibited the observation of prowess. Froissart complained that at Crécy 'there were too few great feats of arms performed [by the French], for the battle began late [in the day], and the French were already thoroughly worn out and exhausted before they arrived.'[68] This difficulty in describing individual deeds of prowess led to many chroniclers of chivalry including lists of the senior captains on either side in their descriptions of battles. Their presence at a battle conferred honour, even if the chronicler could not relate the deeds of chivalry those men displayed. This may also explain why the chroniclers of chivalry took such an interest in the skirmishes, combats organised between small groups of men-at-arms and the numerous jousts *à outrance* that took place during many campaigns.

In recounting these small-scale combats the chroniclers were reflecting the importance of these events in chivalric culture as occasions where an individual could display prowess in combat. Moreover, there would often be long periods during an expedition where a combatant would see no action, particularly during sieges, where jousts *à outrance* could provide a break from the tedium. Thomas Gray notes that Henry Percy[69] arranged jousts of war by formal agreement with the Earl of Moray and James Douglas during the siege of Alnwick in 1328.[70] Knighton explicitly states that at the siege of Calais, French knights daily came up to the English lines to propose a tournament 'so that the evils of war could be turned aside'.[71] During the lengthy campaign of 1359-60 Bartholomew Burghersh, an officer of Henry Grosmont's retinue, was challenged by the defenders of Rheims to a joust *à outrance*. The English got the better of this encounter, which left one Frenchman dead and another two wounded by lance point.[72] Later in that campaign the English army arrived before Paris; expecting a battle, thirty English squires were dubbed. However, the French stayed within the city walls and the newly dubbed knights rode up to

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[67] *Froissart*, 1: 378.

[68] Quoted from Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p.100.

[69] Son of the veteran of the Caerlaverock campaign.

[70] *Scalacronica*, p.82.

[71] *Knighton*, p.82.

[72] *Scalacronica*, p.148.

the gates of Paris asking for combat *à outrance*. Sixty French knights took up the challenge, but, as Knighton reports, they were soundly beaten.[73]

Truces and the taking of winter quarters could also provoke ennui, and the staging of jousts and tournaments provided the entertainment. They could either be *à plaisance* as were the frequent tournaments held whilst the English army lingered in Antwerp during 1337-8,[74] or *à outrance* as during the frequent truces that punctuated the war in Scotland during the late 1330s and early 1340s. For example, in 1341, whilst Henry Grosmont was holding his Christmas court at Roxburgh, William Douglas and three knights came to meet him there and a tournament was arranged between the Scots and Henry's men; Douglas was gravely wounded and 'returned to Scotland without honour'.[75] Soon after this event a truce was arranged between the kings of Scotland and England; however, this did not bring an end to hostilities. Knighton reports twelve of 'the best knights in Scotland' came to Berwick to joust *à outrance* with Henry Grosmont and twelve of his men; at this event Grosmont's retainer John Twyford was killed.[76] Before the start of the jousts Douglas had suggested that they should fight with blank shields, but this was rejected by Grosmont on the grounds that it would be counter-productive to prowess to fight *incognito*,[77] again stressing the need for prowess to be seen, particularly with the aid of heraldry.

These types of challenge were commonplace during the wars in Scotland and France and sometimes they were reminiscent of incidents from the pages of romance. Thomas Gray recounts an incident that occurred at the same time as the 1359-60 campaign. At the English-held fortress of Feguil on the March of Beauce, a French knight addressing himself as the 'Chevalier Blaunche' challenged the constable of the castle to single combat. The English entered into the spirit of the occasion with their two challengers dressing all in scarlet. The Chevalier Blaunche and his squire were defeated and imprisoned in the castle.[78] Some of these encounters entered chivalric folklore itself, such as the tournament that was held on the border of Gascony and France between twenty French knights and twenty knights from Gascony. The two sides made a compact that they would not quit the field as long as there were men there who wanted to fight. They fought so long and so fiercely that on the French side only three men were left alive and on the other side many were killed and

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[73] *Knighton*, p.176.

[74] *Scalacronica*, p.105.

[75] *Knighton*, p.38.

[76] Ibid.

[77] J. R. V. Barker, *The Tournament in England 1100-1400*, paperback edn. (Woodbridge, 2003), p.34.

[78] *Scalacronica*, p.152.

wounded.[79] A similar event, the famous 'Battle of the Thirty', took place in Brittany in 1351, between members of English and French garrisons in the duchy. This event was given a particularly romantic hue when the French captain Beaumanoir challenged the English captain, Brembro, to prove in battle who had the fairest mistress.[80] Single encounters *à outrance* occasionally occurred before the start of major battles. Before Halidon Hill in 1333, an English knight by the name of Sir Robert Benhale fought and slew a formidable Scotsman described by Geoffrey Le Baker as a 'Goliath'.[81]

These events had an important social purpose: not only did they provide a platform for the display of prowess as Henry Grosmont pointed out to William Douglas, but they also excluded the socially meaner elements of the army. These types of combat were restricted to elite cavalry elements of the army, usually bannerets and knights but also occasionally men-at-arms. Here we see prowess acting as socially reaffirming for the aristocracy and a cultural boundary between the mainly aristocratic men-at-arms and the rest. It is in this light that the tournaments and jousts or single combat encounters emerge as an important aspect of chivalric culture, particularly in England, during the fourteenth century. Hastiludes placed the warhorse and the skills of the knight centre stage and provided a public forum for the display of prowess.

This public element was important: prowess had to be seen to be appreciated. There was also a strong element of competition amongst the protagonists as to who was the best knight and in tournaments prizes were awarded to those who had shown the greatest skill during a day's encounters. Historians of heraldry have often emphasised that the development of heraldic insignia was closely associated with the need to be recognised in tournaments. This desire to be recognised was important in the *mêlée*, which was the predominant form of encounter in most tournaments in England up until at least the early fourteenth century.[82] It was not only important to be recognised by your team-mates in what could potentially be frenetic and confusing encounters, but it was also important that one's peers, either in the field or in the watching crowd, recognised your skill furthering your own *renome* and consolidating your position as a worthy member of the chivalric circle. Tournaments acted as a public reinforcement of the collective perception of the aristocracy as the military elite, with elite skills; it also reinforced an individual's position within this culture group.

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[79] *Knighton*, p.124.

[80] The Battle of the Thirty appears in the chronicle of John le Bel and is discussed at length by Thomas Johnes in his edition of Foissart's *Chroniques*, Froissart, *Chronicles*, trans. Johnes, 1: 191; see also, J. Barker, *Tournament*, p.159.

[81] *Le Baker*, p.51.

[82] Barker, *Tournament*, p.13.

It is commonly asserted that tournaments formed an important part of the mounted warrior's training for war.[83] Surviving indentures have shown that, during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, provision was often made for a retainer to attend his lord at tournament as well as in war.[84] Indeed two members of the 1300 sample, Aymer Valence and Robert Fitzpayn indentured for service only in tournaments. Fitzpayn agreed to serve Valence at a tournament at Christmas 1303 along with two bachelors, and then in any other tournament between that date and Easter 1304. He was to have food provided for himself, four bachelors, three valets and two esquires at the tournament and would be paid £100 for the remainder of his period of service.[85] Valence clearly valued Fitzpayn's prowess and felt that he would be a prestigious addition to his retinue. Part of Fitzpayn's indenture required him also to accompany Valence to any parliaments that would be held during this period, highlighting the necessity of taking a prestigious retinue to these great political events. This example appears to be an exception rather than the rule and normally a captain's retinue in war would also be his retinue in peace and at tournaments. Subsequently, the tournament *mêlée* would have proved the testing ground for a retinue. They would be able to practice fighting in formations and as a team, which would directly translate to combat in war. As we have already noted, however, the role of the great warhorses in war was much reduced from the second quarter of the fourteenth century; moreover retinue compositions were also shifting, from a small number of mounted men-at-arms to potentially very large retinues composing both men-at-arms and archers who fought on foot. It seems that these changes in the conduct of war were reflected in a shift in emphasis in the way tournaments were held, with jousts being included in the programme alongside the team events characterised by the *mêlée*. By the mid-fourteenth century the joust had replaced the *mêlée* as the predominant form of encounter in the hastilude.[86] Jousts promoted a greater emphasis on individuality; they were direct competitions between two *chevaliers*, where the audience could easily judge the prowess on show and discuss the technicalities of the engagement. This individuality contrasts directly with the real experience of battle, where teamwork is the key to victory.

There is no doubt that hastiludes were a common feature in the lives of the military community during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is possible, to a limited

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[83] Ibid., ch. 2.

[84] M. Jones and S. Walker, 'Private Indentures for Life Service in Peace and War 1278-1476', *Camden Miscellany* 30, Camden 5th ser. (London, 1992), pp.1-191; Barker, *Tournament*, pp.27-9, 120-3.

[85] *CDS*, 2: n.1407.

[86] Barker, *Tournament*, pp.13-5; McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, pp.250-1.

extent, to identify the tourneying activity of members of our sample. The recording of hastiludes was at the whim of the chroniclers. Those staged under the patronage of the king tended to receive coverage and hastiludes that took place near a chronicler's religious institution might also receive coverage. The Leicestershire chronicler Knighton mentions several hastiludes in which Knighton Priory's patron and hero Henry Lancaster took part. The names of all the tourneyers tended not to be recorded by the chroniclers: only the king and some of the major earls tend to get a mention. However, Juliet Barker has noted that the names of about one thousand tourneyers have been recorded in England between 1000 and 1400.[87] The names of those appearing in chronicles can be added to with the chance survival of the Dunstable tournament rolls of 1309 and 1334.[88] These two occasional heraldic rolls provide the names of almost four hundred participants; considering we only know the names of a thousand tourneyers during a period of three hundred years, the large number found on these two rolls emphasises how little we know about the tourneying records of the medieval English aristocracy. More names can be added from household accounts, and fines issued to those who broke prohibitions on tournaments, particularly during the later years of Edward I's reign. Using these sources Tables 4.1 and 4.2 record the known tourneying activity of the members of our sample.

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[87] Barker, *Tournament*, pp.112-3.

[88] These are printed in *Collectanea Topographica and Chronologica*, 4, (1837), pp.61-72 (1309 Dunstable Tournament) and 389-95 (1334 Dunstable Tournament).

Table 4.1. Tournaments Attended by the 1300 Sample

Name	Tournament[89]
Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln	1278 – Compiégne
Hugh Despenser	1278 – Compiégne 1310 – Mons[90]
Henry Earl of Lancaster	1293 – Warwick 1293 – Dunstable 1293 – Croydon 1293 – Fulham 1334 – Dunstable
Thomas Earl of Lancaster	1293 – Warwick 1293 – Dunstable 1293 – Croydon 1293 – Fulham 1309 – Dunstable
Robert Tony	1301 – Byfleet 1309 – Dunstable
Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford	1305 – Fulham 1307 – Wallingford 1309 – Dunstable
Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick	1309 – Dunstable
Robert Clifford	1309 – Dunstable
Henry le Tyes	1309 – Dunstable
Ralph Gorges	1309 – Dunstable
William le Marshal	1309 – Dunstable
Bartholomew Badlesmere	1301 – Byfleet 1309 – Dunstable
Nicholas Segrave	1309 – Dunstable

[89] Sources: Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, p.22, n.211, n.212 (Compiégne, 1278, Mons, 1310); J. Burtt (ed.), 'Account of the Expenses of John of Brabant and Thomas and Henry of Lancaster, A.D. 1292-3', *Camden Miscellanea* 2 (1853), pp. xi-xviii, 10, 12 (Warwick, Dunstable, Croydon, Fulham, 1293); *CCR*, 1302-1307, p.66 (Byfleet, 1301); Annales Londonienses, p.138-9 (Fulham, 1305); *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p.2 (Wallingford, 1307); *Collectanea Topographica and Chnologica*, 4 (1837), pp..389-95 (Dunstable, 1309).

[90] This may refer to Hugh Despenser's son as the source only mentions a 'Sir Hugh Despenser'. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, p.22, n.211.

Table 4.2. Tournaments Attended by the 1359-60 Sample

Name	Tournament[91]
Henry Duke of Lancaster	1328 – Blyth 1331 – Cheapside 1332 – Woodstock 1338 – Scotland 1340 – Le Bure 1341 – Roxburgh 1342 – Berwick 1342 – Dunstable 1342 – London 1344 – Windsor 1344 – Projected Lincoln Tournament Society. 1344 – Leicester 1348 – Lincoln 1348 – Canterbury 1358 – Windsor
Reginald Cobham	1334 – Dunstable
Michael Poynings	1334 – Dunstable
William Bohun, Earl of Northampton	1334 – Dunstable 1342 – Dunstable
Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk	1334 – Dunstable 1342 – Dunstable 1344 – Windsor 1344 – Hereford 1348 – Canterbury
Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick	1334 – Dunstable 1342 – Dunstable 1343 – Smithfield 1344 – Windsor 1344 – Hereford
Richard Pembridge	1334 – Dunstable
Ralph Stafford, Earl of Stafford	1344 – Leicester[92] 1344 – Hereford
Roger Mortimer, Earl of March	1344 – Hereford
John Beauchamp	1348 – Canterbury
John Chandos	1348 – Canterbury

[91] Sources: Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, Appendix 12 (Blyth, 1328; Woodstock, 1332, Le Bure 1340, Leicester, 1344, Cantebury, 1348); *Collectanea Topographica and Chronologica*, 4 (1837), pp. 389-95 (Dunstable, 1334); *Annales Paulini*, p.354 (Cheapside, 1331), *Murimuth*, p.63 (Cheapside, 1331), pp.123-4 (Dunstable, 1342), p.146 (Smithfield, 1343), pp.155-6, (Windsor, 1344), p.156 (Hereford, 1344); Barker, *Tournament*, p.126 (Scotland, 1338; London 1342); *Knighton*, p.38 (Roxburgh, 1341, Berwick, 1342), *CPR*, 1343-5, p.196 (Lincoln Tournament Society, 1344); *Le Baker*, p.97 (Lincoln, 1348), *Scalacronica*, pp.128-9 (Windsor, 1358).

[92] Although not mentioned by name presumably Stafford was present at this tournament as it was held in honour of his marriage to Henry of Grosmont's daughter.

These tables highlight the chance nature of the recording of tourneyers. Of the seventeen occasions where thirteen men from the 1300 sample can be found to have attended tournaments, eleven can be found on the two Dunstable Rolls. Similarly of the eleven members of the second sample who can be found attending tournaments, six were present on the second Dunstable Roll. This is clearly just the tip of the iceberg. We would expect that those members of the second sample who were part of Edward III's household would have attended many of the royally sponsored tournaments. The second Dunstable Roll includes Reginald Cobham, William Bohun, Robert Ufford and Richard Pembridge who were members of Edward III's household in 1334, and Michael Poynings attended with his father Thomas, another member of the household at this time. These tables do, however, suggest that tourneying was very popular amongst the members of the military community discussed in Chapter 1. From the first sample the Earl of Lincoln and Hugh Despenser attended tournaments in northern France. These two were notable members of Edward I's coterie and reflect the keen interest in tournaments that Edward I showed. Robert Tony and Bartholomew Badlesmere's passion for tournaments landed them in trouble when they were arrested for attending a tournament in Byfleet, organised by the great tourneying enthusiast Giles d'Argentain, despite the king's prohibition of hastiludes.[93]

From the second sample Henry Grosmont emerges as a prodigious tourneyer. He attended a minimum of fourteen tournaments between 1328 and 1348 and was appointed captain of his own tourneying society. Geoffrey le Baker recorded that at the tournament held in Lincoln in 1348, Grosmont was referred to as *captianeus* indicating that this was an event organised by this society.[94] Participation in tournaments could start at a young age. In 1293 Henry, the future Earl of Lancaster (d.1345), accompanied his brother on a tournament tour with events held at Warwick, Dunstable, Croydon and Fulham; he could not have been much older than twelve or thirteen at the time, although his actual role in these events is not recorded. From the second sample Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, won his spurs in the Leicester tournament of 1344 where he took on the seasoned campaigners the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk and Stafford.[95] The Earl of March could not have been much older than sixteen on this occasion and it seems that established members of the military community, with the appearance of the three accomplished earls, supported his entrance into the chivalric world.

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[93] *CCR*, 1302-07, p.66. Denholm-Young notes that this had been d'Argentain's fourth warning by the king and he had already been imprisoned for contempt: N. Denholm-Young, 'The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century', in Denholm-Young, *Collected Papers*, p.120.

[94] *Le Baker*, p.97.

[95] Adam Murimuth, 'Continuation Chronicarum' in E. M. Thompson (ed.), *Adam Murimuth Continuation Chronicarum. Robert de Avesbury de Gestis Mirabilibus Regis Edwardi Terti*, Rolls Series 93 (1889), p.159.

Although we cannot draw too many conclusions from these vignettes of the tourneying activities of the members of our sample, as they are a long way from being complete, we can at least draw some tentative conclusions. Firstly it is apparent from the sources used to draw up Tables 4.1 and 4.2 that chroniclers took a far greater interest in hastiludes during Edward III's reign than that of Edward I. Perhaps the reason for this is that the king sponsored many of the events that the chroniclers' noted and his promotion and participation in hastiludes did much to advance the sport. Indeed, Edward III's enthusiasm for hastiludes may have led to a general increase in the number of events held, particularly during the first thirty years of the king's reign when he was full of martial vigour. Several historians have pointed to the propaganda value to the crown in the holding of tournaments, jousts and Round Tables,[96] but there may be other reasons for the popularity of hastiludes during the period.

Firstly the decline of the *mêlée* style tournament in the early decades of the fourteenth century and the rise of the joust and Round Table as the predominant form of hastilude reduced the amount of violence in these events and reduced the possibility of conflicts on the tournament field spreading out of control as they had done, for example, at Boston Fair in 1288.[97] The one-to-one nature of jousting meant that it could be confined in a small area, thus lessening the king's fear that they may pose a threat to public order. Secondly, the relatively harmonious relationship between the king and his nobility during the reign of Edward III diminished the potential for tournaments acting as a recruiting ground and meeting place for opponents of the crown, as the tournament at Dunstable had done in 1309.[98] The third reason is that hastiludes provided a forum for the display of prowess and horsemanship in a period where the cavalry charge had become largely superfluous as a battle tactic. The joust also had the added advantage of being restricted to the social elite in society. The increased pageantry, particularly in the increasingly elaborate processions to the lists, augmented the potential financial burden to the would-be tourneyer, as he had to deck out his retinue in sometimes extravagant dress. Moreover the popularity of the joust promoted the development of specialist armour which was impractical in war, swelling the armoury of any potential knight who wished to fight in both war and peace. The increased costs of jousting led to it becoming a much more exclusive pastime, limited to only the highest reaches of the aristocracy.

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[96] For example, Barker, *Tournament*, pp.66-70; Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp.60-75.

[97] Baker, *Tournaments*, pp.52-3.

[98] Ibid., pp.46-7.

The decline of the *mêlée*-style tournament and the rise of the joust during the first thirty years of Edward III's reign are revealing of the attitudes of the members of our sample towards prowess. No doubt one of the reasons why the *mêlée* style tournament became less popular was due to its lack of practical application as training for battle. As we have seen, the cavalry charge became largely obsolete on the battlefield (although Barker rightly points out that mounted combat still had a role to play in the many skirmishes of the Hundred Years War).[99] The fact that prowess on horseback remained the most prestigious form of prowess may suggest a conservative attitude amongst the members of the 1359-60 sample. The cavalry charge had little practical application in battle and yet the skills of the mounted warrior brought much social esteem. It is not until the last decades of the fourteenth century that 'feats of arms', which involved individual combats on foot as well as from the saddle, were incorporated into hastiludes.[100] We also find that in the romance literature written in the fourteenth century the martial deeds of the heroes were still presented in a rather anachronistic way: battles were still decided through mounted cavalry charges and the individual prowess of one man could turn the course of a conflict.

What we appear to be observing is a cultural lag. So ingrained is the association between the mounted warrior as a military elite and the aristocracy as a social elite, that deeds of prowess carried out on horseback remain a socially and culturally affirming value for the members of our sample. It may also explain why the small scale combats and joust *à outrance* are given such a dominant role by the chroniclers of chivalry who wished to entertain the aristocracy. By concentrating on the presentation of prowess in textual sources, studying the experiences of our samples in hastiludes and on the battlefield, we are able to shed a greater light on prowess as the key value of chivalric culture. In chivalric manuals and romance literature prowess is presented as a rather timeless value, but through a closer inspection of the practice of prowess we are able to see that the chivalrous community's relationship with this value came under constant challenges and subtle changes. It is through this type of analysis that we can observe chivalry being, as Maurice Keen described it, like 'a living organism'.

Book Ownership and the Reception of Texts

In the first half of this chapter we have looked at what the textual evidence can tell us about chivalry. In the second half we will discuss the discourse between 'chivalric' literature and chivalric culture. The members of our sample will again provide the focus of this study and if we are to understand better the relationship between literature and the men of our sample

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[99] Ibid., pp.22-3.

[100] Ibid., pp.157-8.

it would be useful to catalogue their ownership of books. Moreover, analysing the reading habits of members of our sample should advance our understanding of the influence that literature had on shaping the values of their shared culture. This is no easy task. Our main sources for aristocratic manuscript ownership come from wills or rare inventories, usually compiled after the confiscation of lands and chattels by the crown; royal libraries are also sometimes mentioned in wardrobe accounts and incidental references in other official sources or chronicles. However, interpretation of theses sources is problematic. Inventories are rather imprecise: sometimes only the first line of a particular work is mentioned and on other occasions several manuscripts are bound together and each individual work is not recorded. Wills are also unreliable as books are often treated as valuable commodities, listed amongst *objets d'art* and jewels: a noble man or woman might include costly illustrated books and psalters in their wills and leave out more utilitarian manuscripts. Green also points out that the relative abundance of testamentary evidence for books belonging to the 'middle class' has placed more weight than is deserved on the importance of 'middle class readership', particularly in the study of romance literature. It is not that the 'middle class' provided the biggest market for romance, merely that books were relatively more precious commodities for, say, a merchant, than for a member of the titled nobility.[101] Crude tool or not, these are the best sources we have to work with, but the meagre evidence for book ownership amongst the aristocracy of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is highlighted by the fact that we only have knowledge of ownership amongst two members of our sample: Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1315) and Michael Poynings (d.1369), who was at least in temporary ownership of the books owned by his aunt Margery de la Beche, which were forfeited to the crown and sold to Michael. Nonetheless, the subjects of the books and manuscripts that these men owned are certainly instructive.

In 1306 Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1315), gave more than forty books to Bordesley Abbey.[102] Dominica Legge has suggested that Guy had 'spring-cleaned the house and thought that the abbey would give a good home to old-fashioned books which were too good to use as scrap', but it seems more likely that Guy was trying to either establish or bolster a library at the abbey to give further prestige to what, after all, was a family

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[101] R. F. Green, *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1980), pp.60, 127.

[102] M. Blaess, 'L'Abbaye de Bordesley et les Livres de Guy de Beauchamp', *Romania* 78 (1957), pp.511-18; M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307* (London, 1979), pp.60-1. It has been previously thought that these books were donated by Guy Beauchamp's grandson, another Guy (d.1360), eldest son of Thomas, Earl of Warwick (d.1369). This incorrect identification stemmed from a mis-transcription of the charter which dated the charter in the reign of Edward III in, H. S. Todd, *Illustrations of Chaucer and Gower* (London, 1810), pp.161-2; this error has been repeated in several works including M.V. Clarke, 'Forfeitures and Treason in 1388', in M. V. Clarke, *Fourteenth Century Studies*, ed. L.S. Sutherland and M. McKisack (Oxford, 1937), p.121.

foundation and would in the future provide his final resting place.[103] Indeed there is nothing in the list of books noted in this charter to suggest that they were either 'old-fashioned' or in any way out of the ordinary for what we might expect from a noble's library. About half of the books Beauchamp owned were of a religious content including various books of the Bible, a psalter, several meditations including the meditations of St. Bernard and two copies of the twelfth-century *Vengance Notre Seigneur*. Beauchamp seems to have had a passion for saints' lives, owning a *vitae Patrum* and lives of saints Paul, Peter, Edward, Nicholas, Eustace, Euphrosine, Julian, Guthlac, Radegonde and a romance of St. Agnes. For more recreational reading Beauchamp had several French epic *Chansons* including a *Fierbras*, a romance of William of Orange and a book described as a 'Romance de Gwy, e da la Reygne' which is almost certainly a romance of Beauchamp's illustrious 'ancestor' Guy of Warwick. Other romances feature prominently: he owned three books from the prose Lancelot-Grail cycle including the *Romance of Joseph of Aramathea*, the 'first book' of *Lancelot*, and a *Mort Arthur*; in addition he owned a book of Troy, a romance of Alexander and a copy of *Amadas e Ydoine*. Beauchamp also owned three histories including a *Brut*, a 'romaunce des Mareschaus' which is probably *Le Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* and a history of William Longspée. The remaining books in this collection were of diverse topics including 'a volume of the teachings of Aristotle addressed to King Alexander,[104] a book of physic and one of surgery, a child's primer, an encyclopaedia, and 'a little red book in which are contained many diverse things'. All of Beauchamp's books appear to have been written in French.[105]

Although we have little knowledge of book ownership amongst the titled nobility, a particularly detailed inventory survives for a man outside of our sample, Thomas Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester (d.1397), and a closer look at the books that he was found to have owned provides a useful comparison with the books owned by Beauchamp. An inventory of Gloucester's possessions was made after his arrest, and probable murder, for treason against Richard II in 1397; amongst these were no fewer than eighty-three books.[106]

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[103] D. Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford, 1963), p.6.

[104] This is likely to have been a copy of the *Secretum Secretorum* one of the earliest examples of a tract from the 'mirror for princes' genre. N. Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530*, pp.88, 95. For more on the *Secretum Secretorum* see: M. A. Manzaloui (ed.), *Secretum Secretorum: Nine English Versions*, *EETS*, Old ser. 276 (1977), p.ix-xlvi.

[105] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp.60-1.

[106] The following excerpts are taken from fuller lists in: Viscount Dillon and W. H. St. John Hope, 'Inventory of the Goods and Chattels Belonging to Thomas Duke of Gloucester', *Archaeological Journal*, 54 (1897), pp.275-308; V. J. Scattergood, 'Literary Culture at the Court of Richard II', in V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (eds.), *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1983), pp.34-5.

Like Beauchamp a good number of these books were of a religious content, including a two-volume Bible, a versified Bible, a Bible in English (which is in V. J. Scattergood's opinion almost certainly Wycliffite), Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*, a copy of Boethius, and various saints' lives and devotional works; Gloucester, like Beauchamp, also owned a copy of St. Bernard's meditations. Other books owned by Gloucester demonstrate that he had a great interest in politics and law, which is not surprising for the man who led the Appellants in the mid 1380s: as well as possessing a Latin book on civil law, and copies of the statutes of England and France, he also owned a copy of one of the most popular tracts of the 'mirror for princes' genre in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Giles of Rome's *De Regimine Principum.*[107] Guy Beauchamp also owned a book in the 'mirror for princes' genre: the *Secretum Secretorum.*[108] Nicholas Orme has noted the popularity of 'mirrors for princes' in aristocratic libraries, believing that they had 'an evident desire to learn the knowledge and functions of kings and thereby to share in the same kind of expertise and culture.'[109] Both Warwick and Gloucester played a full role in the politics during the respective reigns of Edward II and Richard II, and both were at some time opponents of the crown; it is not unreasonable to think that their ownership of books from the 'mirrors for princes genre' show their interest in good governance and may even have been influential in formulating their political stances. Gloucester also owned a copy of Vegitius, pointing towards the enormous popularity of that book amongst the aristocracy.[110]

For both edification and entertainment, like Beauchamp, Gloucester owned a number of histories and chronicles, including Livy's Roman histories,[111] Nicholas Trivet's *Chronicles* and various books on English history including a *Polychronicon.* He owned two

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[107] For more on Giles' text, its translation into English and its influence on political English thought, see, C. F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De Regimine Principum: Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c.1275-1525* (Cambridge, 1999); N. Perkins, *Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes: Council and Constraint* (Cambridge, 2001), pp.88-90.

[108] See above, p171 and n.104.

[109] Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry*, p.89 and more generally on this genre, pp.86-98.

[110] Green, *Poets*, pp.144-5.

[111] Histories tended to fall somewhere between a form of entertainment and a guide for good government. In 1353 Jean II of France commissioned a translation of Livy's *History of Rome* into French in order that he might 'learn about the virtuous deeds and remarkable works of the princes of antiquity, about the martial genius, the intelligence, and the industry with which these men conquered lands and territories, built empires, holding them through a grand succession that endured at length; so that modern princes can in the same way defend and govern their lands, defeat and dominate foreigners, discomfit enemies, defend their subjects, and aid their friends.' This passage suggests that Jean II thought that history could provide a practical guide to the present; moreover the continued popularity of Vegitius suggests that manuals on war written for application in the Roman army was also perceived as having relevance on the medieval battlefield. L. Patterson, *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1987), ch. 6, quote taken from p.197. On histories as practical guides to governance see also: Green, *Poets*, pp.135-40.

books on physic, a subject which seems to have appealed to members of the aristocracy - we will recall that Beauchamp also owned a similar book. He also had a number of books belonging to the romance genre: one on Hector of Troy, two on Merlin, a French Lancelot, two books in French on the Trojan war, a romance of Fulk Fitz Warrin, an Alexander, a book on Arthur, and one on Godefrey de Bouillon. He also had a copy of the *Roman de la Rose*, which he had acquired from the executors of Richard Sturry, two versions of *Les Voeux du Paon*, a French Mandeville's *Travels*, a book on the art of French poetry and a large French book given the title in the inventory of 'tretes amoireux & moralitez & de carolles', which, like Beauchamp's 'little red book' would appear to be a bound collection of manuscripts, probably largely comprising love poetry.

There is no guarantee that Gloucester read all of the books in this eclectic mix, but the sheer number of volumes (Scattergood believes that Gloucester's library was larger than Richard II's)[112] and the fact that he went to the trouble of acquiring a *Roman de la Rose* from Richard Sturry's executors, suggests that he had a real interest in literature. The *Roman de la Rose* provoked great discourse in the courts of both England and France during this period as the famous debate between Jean Gerson and Christian de Pizan in the early years of the fifteenth century attests;[113] perhaps Gloucester wished to read a work that was a hot topic amongst the cultural elite at this time. From this booklist, Gloucester appears as a man for all seasons with a wide range of interests, from religious devotion to the theory of politics and governance and the conduct of war; his collection of romances hints that there were clearly opportunities to entertain visitors to his household.[114] Whether Gloucester was typical of the titled nobility is less clear. His eminent status and the prominent role he had in national politics, particularly in the 1380s, may have prompted in him a greater interest in reading political tracts and chronicles. It seems that a majority, if not all, of Beauchamp's books were written in French, but of Gloucester's eighty-three volumes, forty-eight were in French, twenty-five in Latin and three in English. We need not assume that Gloucester was able to read Latin: he would have had a number of clerks to read and debate his Latin tracts to him. Perhaps Gloucester felt that ownership of the original Latin work, rather than a French translation, added intellectual *gravitas* to his splendid collection. The appearance of a small number of English books points towards the growing acceptance of this language as a literary medium in court circles in the later fourteenth century.

Similarities in the types of volumes these men owned allow us to draw some tentative conclusions. The main point of note is that these men owned a surprising number

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[112] Scattergood, 'Literary Culture', p.34.

[113] Green, *Poets*, pp.112-3.

[114] For romance as social entertainment see below, pp.175-6.

of books. Beauchamp gave over forty books to Bordesley Abbey and he may well have owned other books in a private collection; Gloucester's large and eclectic library speaks for itself. The heterogeneity of the volumes owned by Beauchamp and Gloucester is also indicative of the wide range of interests of members of the highest reaches of the aristocracy. Subjects as wide-ranging as physic, surgery, Roman and Greek history, travel logs and geography, law and governance all found a place in the libraries of Beauchamp and Gloucester, but it is notable that a great majority of their books were either works concerning religious devotion or romances.

So far our survey of book ownership has concentrated on the highest reaches of the aristocracy. This is not surprising, as our knowledge of book ownership outside of the court circle and titled nobility is patchy in the extreme. Evidence for ownership by aristocrats below comital status, is, unfortunately, sparse. From outside our sample, we know that Simon Burley had what appears to be a relatively large collection of twenty-two volumes. Several of these were on religious subjects and he also had eight romances including one on Arthur, one on Bevis and another on Maugis d'Aigremont; like Gloucester he owned a copy of the seemingly popular *Roman de la Rose*, and also a prophecies of Merlin, a book on philosophy which was of an unspecified content and a French version of Giles' *De Regimine Principum*.[115] This collection may not have been typical of a man of his status. He was appointed as one of Richard II's tutors and his large collection of books, and in particular his ownership of *De Regimine Principum*, may be a result of the prominent role he played in providing the young king's education.[116]

Drawing from the evidence of our sample we have some incidental evidence of book ownership which may be typical of a 'knightly' household. In 1348 Michael Poynings, sometime banneret of the king's household, bought all the lands and chattels of his aunt Margery de la Beche, who had forfeited all her possessions to the crown.[117] On Margery's death in 1350, Michael Poynings passed on her goods to her nearest kinsman, Edmund de la Beche, and an inventory of her possessions was made.[118] These included twelve books on a

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[115] Scattergood, 'Literary Culture', pp.35-6; Clarke, 'Forfeitures and Treason', pp.120-1.

[116] Green, *Poets*, pp.73-5.

[117] Margery had been involved in a major scandal in 1347. Whilst staying at the manor of Beams near Reading in the presence of Edward III's young son Lionel, a gang lead by John Dalton violently broke into the manor house and abducted Margery. Margery's brother Michael was killed in the incident, but Margery may have been complicit in her abduction as she soon married John Dalton. The king seems to have been apoplectic that such an outrage should occur in the presence of his son and perhaps worried that his son may have been put in danger and a major manhunt was initiated across the country. As punishment for Margery's hasty marriage to her abductor all her lands and goods were forfeit. Multiple entries concerning this affair can be found in *CPR*, 1345-8; *CPR*, 1348-50 and *CFR*, 1347-56. See also Prestwich, *Three Edwards*, p.233.

[118] *CPR*, 1350-4, pp.137-141.

mixture of subjects including one on the art of chess, one on ancient histories and a primer covered in purple velvet. Six books of the de la Beche collection were romances, though the subject of these romances is ambiguous as only the first line of the book or a description of the cover of the book is recorded.[119] However, one seems to be a romance of Alexander, pointing towards the popularity of romances of the ancient world. It is notable that all the books appear to have been written in French, but as the whole of the inventory is written in French there is no guarantee that some titles have not been translated from Latin.

Even though our knowledge of aristocratic book ownership in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is severely restricted, the reading of books during this period was almost exclusively a social event and there is much evidence to suggest that devotional works, histories and romances would have been read aloud to a group audience.[120] Thus, even if, which seems unlikely, a majority of the aristocracy did not own books and manuscripts, most would be familiar with the content of a great deal of literature. V. A. Kolve asserts that 'hearing a tale in company was one of the great ceremonial pleasures of medieval society, and it was valued at all levels – by kings as well as commoners, by monks and lay, by "lernyd and lewyed."'[121] The *Liber Niger*, an ordinance book written in about 1471, gives us a flavour of how reading might fit into the social context at the court of Edward III. Purporting to have been drawn from a household ordinance drawn up during his reign (although no household ordinance survives to confirm this) the *Liber* recounts reading/discussion of chronicles as an essential form of entertainment at Edward III's court:

> Thes esquires of household of old be acustumed, wynter, and somer, in after nonys and in euenynges, to drawe to lordez chambrez within courte, there to kepe honest company aftyr thyre cunyng, in talkyng, of cronycles of kinges and of other polycez, or in pypyng, or harpyng, synging, other actez marciablez, to help occupy the court and accompany straungers, tyll the tym require of departing.[122]

It is likely that the 'talkyng of cronycles' involved the reading of chronicles, in the modern sense of the word, and, quite possibly, also consisted of works that we would consider part

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[119] *CPR*, 1350-54, pp.140-1. Four books are specifically described as romances and the two following entries are designated 'autre que comence', but the first line of one of those books: 'Amour si est bel comemcement' suggests that they are of a secular nature and in the romance style.

[120] J. Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge, 1996), passim, but particularly ch. 4.

[121] V. A. Kolve, *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative: The First Five Canterbury Tales* (London, 1984), p.14; Coleman, *Public Reading*, p.87.

[122] A. R. Myers (ed.), *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959), p.129; Green, Poets, pp.83-4; Coleman, *Public Reading*, pp.130-1.

of the romance genre, such as the 'histories' of Troy, Alexander, Arthur and Charlemagne.[123]

Although no doubt a nostalgic view, in the passage quoted above the chamber emerges as a place of entertainment where the king and members of the household could enjoy a variety of entertainments, including reading. The famous passage in Froissart's *Chronicles,* where the author presents Richard II with a book, takes place in Richard's chamber; this passage also notes that a knight of Richard's chamber took the book from the king and took it to his secret chamber.[124] This passage indicates that Richard II had both a 'great chamber', a public space for receiving guests and entertainment and another more private chamber for the king's person.[125] The role of the great chamber as a space for entertainment is recounted in a passage from the romance of *Guy of Warwick* who was invited into the chamber of the Emperor of Constantinople's daughter:

> Go we now to chaumbur same,
> One some man*e*r to make vs game,
> To the chesses or to the tables,
> Or ellys to speke of fables,
> Before the bedd*e* of Þat feyre maye [maid].[126]

It would be surprising if the chamber did not also provide the setting for the reading of romances. However, our knowledge on this subject is lacking. Although it is dangerous to argue a case from negative evidence it may well be that that the reading of romances was such a commonplace that it did not need to be recounted. Joyce Coleman has garnered several references to reading in chamber in the courts of Burgundy, France and Britain, but none of the references from Britain is taken from the period spanning the lifetime of our sample.[127] Nonetheless, we do know that both Edward III and Richard II owned a number of romances and that receipts from the privy wardrobe in Edward III's reign show that members of the court circle occasionally borrowed these books.[128] Indeed the court may have provided a focus for the reading of romance: during the short ascendancy of Queen

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[123] Green, poets, pp.136-7; see also above n.20.

[124] Froissart, *Chronicles*, ed. and trans., G. Brereton, 2nd edn. (Harmondsworth, 1978), p.408; Coleman, *Public Reading*, p.132. See also, Green, *Poets*, pp.35-7.

[125] For the development of the chamber as a social space see M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (Harmondsworth, 1980), pp.38-46.

[126] J. Zupita (ed.), *The Romance of Guy of Warwick. The Second or Fifteenth Century Version, E.E.T.S.*, 25 (1875), ll.3051-3056. Parenthesis added.

[127] Coleman, *Public Reading*, ch. 5.

[128] Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp.48-50; Scattergood, 'Literary Culture', pp.32-4.

Isabella and Roger Mortimer, Mortimer borrowed twenty-three such works, leading to the fanciful suggestion that he sponsored a 'romance reading group'.[129]

The Discourse Between Romance Literature and Chivalric Culture

Either through book ownership or through the hearing of books in a social context, it is probable that the men of our sample would have been familiar with a wide range of literary genres, and not least romance literature. Romances are probably our most important textual sources in reconstructing the *mentalité* of the chivalric community; not only, as the previous discussion of book ownership suggests, that they were the most popular form of aristocratic literary entertainment, but also in that they both reflected and at the same time influenced chivalric culture. Moreover, the 'histories' of Britain, France and Rome, which so many romances adopted as their themes, were fully interwoven in the historical, political and geographical landscape, during the lifetime of the men of our sample. For example, in Edward I's letter to the Pope in 1301, the English government collated a series of incidences of when the kings of Scotland had done homage to English kings in order to justify their claims to suzerainty over Scotland. This account of the relationship between the kings of Scotland and England began with the division of Britain into three kingdoms given to the sons of Brutus, and also recounted the service that the Scottish King Angusel did to King Arthur at the court of Caerleon.[130] Interestingly, the Scottish response to Edward's claims did not deny that Arthur had conquered Scotland, but argued that after Arthur was slain by Mordred, Scotland returned to its free status.[131] The legend of Arthur also permeated the physical landscape: Jean Froissart, following Jean le Bel's eyewitness account of the Weardale campaign of 1327, noted that a young Edward III and his host passed 'a ltle abbey the whiche was all brent, called in the dayes of King Arthur, le Blanche lande.'; at a later point Froissart noted that Aurai Castle in Brittany had been built by Arthur.[132]

The mimetic qualities of romance also highlight the discursive relationship between romance and chivalric culture. This is no better demonstrated than in the hastiludes and Round Tables held by Edward I and Edward III. The Brabançon cleric Lodewijk Van Veltham gives a flavour of one of Edward I's Round Tables in a chronicle completed in

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[129] Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p.31; C. Revard, 'Courtly Romances in the Privy Wardrobe', in E. Mullally and D. Thompson (eds.), *Selected Papers from the Eighth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society. The Queens University of Belfast 26 July – 1 August, 1995* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.299-308.

[130] E. L. G. Stones (ed. and trans.), *Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1174-1328*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1970), pp.192-7; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p.492.

[131] Stones, *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, pp.226-7.

[132] *Froissart*, 1: 56, 200.

1316. In describing a great feast to celebrate the marriage of Edward to the 'Spanish princess' a play (*spel*) of King Arthur was enacted'.[133] At this feast the parts of the great Arthurian heroes and anti-heroes were allocated to the courtiers and the following day the Round Table was held. This took the form of a mimetic-tournament. The character of 'Keye' provided the light relief, when a group of twenty young squires cut his saddle-girth and sent him sprawling on the ground. The tournament then proceeded, presumably following incidents taken from the Arthurian stories, until the king declared that everything had taken place as in Arthur's time, and spectators and 'actors' returned to the banqueting hall for the evening's entertainments. The king took his place at the Round Table with his 'Arthurian' knights sitting around him. Between courses in the succeeding meal various challenges were issued to the 'knights of the Round Table', which varied from the whole court being goaded into taking vengeance against the Welsh for the injuries done to a blood-splattered squire, to the appearance of the obligatory Loathly Damsel who challenged 'Perchevael' to ride to Leicester and win the castle from its lord; and 'Walewein' to ride to Cornwall to put an end to strife there between the lords and commons. The chronology of Veltham's account can be questioned as he placed these events at the time of Edward I's marriage to Eleanor of Castile, which is not recorded by any English chroniclers. However, great festivities were recorded at Edward's marriage to Margaret of France in 1299 and Loomis has linked these activities with that event.[134] It is true that Van Veltham's chronicle is notorious for inaccuracies,[135] but the recounting of this Round Table rings true: there are many similarities between this event and Sarrasin's account of the tournament at Le Hem in 1278, where, incidentally, the attendance of Edward I and his English knights was keenly anticipated.[136] Here again scenes from Arthurian literature were carried out and the role of Kay and the Loathly Damsel provided a comedy element.[137]

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[133] For the account which follows, see, R. S. Loomis 'Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast', *Speculum* 28 (1953): 118-121.

[134] Ibid., pp.120-1.

[135] Michael Prestwich argues that Van Veltham's account cannot be taken seriously due to the extreme unreliability of the chronicle. He cites the account of the conquest of Wales which culminates in Edward's decent into a cave containing Arthur's bones as a prime example. It would perhaps be unwise to entirely discount the spirit of Van Veltham's chronicle. If his account was not 'factual' it does, however, give us a flavour of what Round Tables may have been like. It also places Edward's historical campaigns in a chivalric milieu; a Low Countries audience may have imagined campaigning in the wild Welsh countryside similar to an Arthurian quest. Prestwich, *Edward I*, p.121.

[136] Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp.13-4.

[137] For a full account of the tournament at Le Hem see Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp.12-15. Also compare with other Round Tables mentioned in R. H. Cline, 'The Influence of Romances on Tournaments in the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 20 (1945): 204-11.

Edward I's Round Tables were not merely frivolous pageants or an example of the decadence of the aristocracy living in the illusionary world of chivalric role-play. For Edward they had a serious point in promoting his own image, forwarding the cult of kingship and associating his own claims to overlordship in Wales and Scotland with Arthur, the legendary king of the Britons. Edward publicly exhibited his interest in the Arthurian legend soon after his victorious campaign in Wales in 1277. The following year he visited Glastonbury Abbey and ordered the opening of the tomb of Arthur and Guinevere and for their bones to be re-interred before the high altar,[138] treating Arthur's remains with the same reverence that one would give a saint. After Edward I's second victorious campaign in Wales in 1283, the Welsh handed over important relics including a crown that was commonly thought to have belonged to Arthur.[139] The Round Table held at Nefyn in 1284 and the presentation of Arthur's crown and other Welsh relics at the high altar at Westminster Abbey in 1285 also correlated Edward's lordship in Wales with Arthurian legend.[140] The history of King Arthur was also very much in evidence during the wars against Scotland in the 1290s and early fourteenth century. As we have already noted, Arthur's sovereignty over Scotland was used to legitimise Edward's own claims to suzerainty in the letter to the Pope in 1301;[141] furthermore, a Round Table was held at Falkirk during his 1302 campaign, which Loomis has suggested commemorated his victory over William Wallace in 1298.[142] A tournament was also held in 1304 to celebrate the end of the siege of Stirling Castle, for what may have seemed at the time as the final victory over the Scots.[143]

Although Edward I provided the impetus for the staging of Round Tables and mimetic tournaments, it is clear that many of his court circle shared his enthusiasm for Arthurian romance and other romance legends. Amanieu Albret seems to have integrated the legend of Perceval into his own self-image. Albret was a Gascon relative of Edward I, and acted as Edward's ambassador to the Papacy, Spain and the French court on five

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[138] Loomis, 'Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast', pp.115-16.

[139] Ibid, p.117; 'Annales Londonienses', in W. Stubbs (ed.), *Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, 1: 91; *Rishanger*, p.107.

[140] Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, p.19. The similarities between this event and the translation of the Stone of Destiny to Westminster in 1296 are keenly apparent. Westminster thus became symbolic with Edward's claims to the whole of the British Isles. This was a place where his name sake and royal English saint Edward the confessor, could be venerated alongside the royal relics of Wales, the coronation stone of the Scots and the crown of the King of Britons.

[141] See above, p.177.

[142] 'Annales Londonienses', p.104; Loomis, 'Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast', p.122.

[143] *Scalacronica*, p.26.

occasions between 1294 and 1307; from 1299 to 1304 he was appointed keeper of Tickhill Castle and served on the 1300 Caerlaverock campaign.[144] At Caerlaverock Albret bore the plain arms *gules*. M. Pastoureau has suggested that he adopted these arms whilst in the service of Edward I, in imitation of the arms of Perceval.[145] Albret's adoption of Perceval's arms is a demonstrable example of a shared interest in Arthurian legend between Edward I and his coterie. By associating himself with King Arthur, Edward not only bolstered his own image, but was able to provide a cultural reference point that members of his military community could identify with and join in with the king. Moreover, the bond between Arthur and his knights, exemplified by the symbolism of the Round Table, also provided an ideal vision for the relationship between a king and his nobles. The holding of Round Table and Arthurian themed hastiludes provided an opportunity for Edward and his nobility to get together - under the king's leadership - and strengthen the bonds between them in a shared cultural milieu.

Arthurian romances also played a prominent role in framing the great social and cultural events of Edward III's reign. Edward III's enthusiasm for the Arthurian legend was in evidence at the Dunstable tournament of 1334 where he bore the arms of Lionel, Lancelot's brother; this Knight of the Round Table may also have provided the inspiration for the naming of his second surviving son, Lionel of Antwerp.[146] But the most obvious expression of the association of Edward III and the Arthurian legend is with the Round Table held at Windsor in 1344, organised with great pomp and ceremony to announce the foundation of a chivalric order based on Arthur's Round Table.[147] Over 300 knights and ladies attended this event, which lasted for over five days. At the announcement of the foundation, which was to meet every year at Pentecost, a succession of earls and barons took oaths of loyalty in support of this venture.[148] It is perhaps instructive that Edward III dropped his plans for a grandiose Arthurian order for the small group of men that were

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[144] Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, 1: 139 (entered under Ameneus Bret).

[145] M. Pastoureau, '*De Gules Plain*: Perceval et les Origines Héraldiques de la Maison d'Albret', *Revue Française d'Héraldiques et de Sigillographie* 60-1 (1990-91): 63-81, as quoted in G. J. Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, p.5.

[146] *Collectanea Topographica et Chronologica* 4 (1837), p.393; Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp.68-9. Edward was presumably fighting incognito so that he did not receive unequal treatment from his fellow tourneyers. Similarly he fought as '*simplicis militis*' at another tournament at Dunstable in 1342: Murimuth, 'Chronicarum', p.123.

[147] For what follows see: Murimuth, 'Chronicarum', pp.155-6, Avesbury, 'Gestis', p.231-2; Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp.67-8; R. Barber and J. Barker, *Tournaments, Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages,* paperback edn. (Woodbridge, 2000), p.35.

[148] There are strong parallels between the making of vows at this event and the making of vows to take revenge against Robert Bruce by the knights of Edward I at the Feast of Swans 38 years earlier. See below, pp.181-2.

admitted into the Order of the Garter (founded 1348).[149] It may have been that Edward was using the chivalric gloss of the Arthurian legend to encourage his aristocracy to join with him on his great enterprise, the war against France, but after the great victories of 1346-7, perhaps Edward felt that his own achievements and those of his senior military commanders had enough prestige to stand on their own without the romantic lustre. Certainly the originality of Edward's order and the limitation of the original membership of the Order to those who had either fought at Crécy or in Gascony in 1346, served to fix those achievements in the memory of both England and her adversaries. Entry to the Order of the Garter was also an honour, earned through prowess, rather than through status, which may not have been true for the projected order of 1344.

However, the Arthurian legend was not the only romance story adopted by the monarchy in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The greatest set-piece chivalric event in Edward I's reign was the 'Feast of Swans' held in 1306.[150] At this great ceremonial feast the king's son Edward of Caernarfon was knighted along with around 300 other aspirant knights. The Feast of Swans also sheds light on how the legends of romance literature and the current political ambitions of Edward I could become inseparably interwoven. There seems little doubt that the central reason for holding the feast was to encourage the aristocracy to bind together with Edward in prosecuting his increasingly frustrated attempts to gain lordship over Scotland. Extravagant vows were made before two swans decorated in gold that revenge would be taken upon the rebellious Bruce in a forthcoming campaign. Although not mimetic of any particular instance from romance, Malcolm Vale has rightly asserted that 'Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of Arthur's great Pentecost feast at Caerleon lay behind many such occasions.'[151] For example, Edward of Caernarfon swore at the Feast of Swans that he would not sleep in the same bed on consecutive nights until he engaged the Scots, which is reminiscent of Percival in Chrétien de Troyes' romance of the same name, where he vowed not to sleep two nights in the same lodgings until he knew whom the Holy Grail served and why the lance bled. However, Chrètien's account also follows in the wake of an older tradition: in the Celtic *Geis*, Murough vowed not to sleep two nights in the same bed or eat two meals of meat at the

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[149] For the foundation of the Order of the Garter see: Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, ch. 5.

[150] The best modern description of the background to the feast and its events is provided by C. Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum Multitudo: Minstrels at a Royal Feast* (Cardiff, 1978), Introduction. See also, M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1962), pp.514-16.

[151] M. G. A. Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380* (Oxford, 2001), p.208.

same table until he had achieved certain aims.[152] Indeed, as Vale admits, there is no clear connection between Arthurian sources and the theme of swans appearing at a feast.[153]

So why then was the swan chosen as the centrepiece of this important event? Michael Prestwich believes there may have been a link with Northern French practices where 'poems record vows made there to a peacock and sparrow-hawk';[154] however, these poems were composed after the Feast of Swans. Before this event there is no evidence to suggest that birds formed the symbolic centrepiece to chivalric feast and it is notable that a spate of real or imagined events which placed birds at their centre fell hot on the heels of Edward I's event.[155] Indeed R. S. Loomis has gone as far to say that the Feast of Swans inspired Jacques de Longuyon's *Les Voeux du Paon*,[156] which in turn inspired the satirical poem of *Les Voeux du Heron* which satirised the pompous chivalrous pretensions of Edward III's court.[157] Both *Les Voeux du Paon* and *Les Voeux du Heron* reveal the symbolism behind the choice of bird at the feast; the peacock represented bravery and conversely the heron represented cowardice (Edward III was likened to the heron by Robert Artois for not pressing his claim to the French crown). Following this idea, Vale conjectures that the swan was chosen as it represented the heralds of death (with Edward I already in the grip of the illness that would kill him in 1307) and that 'the bird was considered as a 'sacrificial' creature, upon which vows to fight to the death to avenge Robert Bruce's murder of John Comyn were taken.'[158] But perhaps we need not delve too deeply into Edward I's psyche. Noel Denholm-Young has suggested that the choice of the swan was a reference to the romance story of the Swan Knight; and although there is no evidence to suggest, as Denholm-Young does, that the feast was a prelude to founding an Order of the Swan, the legend of the Swan Knight would have had much resonance both for Edward I and for some

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[152] Ibid., pp.208-9.

[153] Ibid., p.218.

[154] Prestwich, *Edward I*, p.121.

[155] For example, the Vows of the *Ėpervier* (Sparrow hawk, 1310), the *Voeux du Paon* (Peacock, c.1310-12) and the *Voeux du Heron* (1338). Vale, *Princely Court*, pp.210-14.

[156] This important poem survives in 35 manuscripts and was used as the inspiration for many chivalric events. For example, a tournament held in Valenciennes in 1344 gave a peacock as the prize and knights assumed names from the romances of Alexander (the *Voeux du Paon* is set at Alexander's court). Philip the Good of Burgundy's Vows of the Pheasant (1454) is also likely to have drawn heavily from this poem. Loomis, 'Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast', pp.124-5; Cline, 'The Influence of Romances', p.209; Vale, *Princely Court*, pp.210, 213-4; Keen, *Chivalry*, pp.214-6.

[157] T. Wright (ed.), *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, Rolls Series 14, 2. vols. (London, 1859-61), 1: 1-25; B. J. Whiting, 'The Vows of the Heron', *Speculum* 20 (1945): 261-78; Vale, *Princely Court*, pp.215-18.

[158] Ibid., pp.218-9.

of the closest members of his political, military and social circles.[159] For as we shall see the incorporation of the swan legend into the ancestral histories of several leading English noble families, and the family of Edward's departed and much lamented wife Eleanor of Castile, would have made an apt symbol for the founding of a chivalrous order.

The legend of the Swan Knight was a popular 'history' across Western Europe in the later middle ages: the story had been brought into the Arthurian canon with its inclusion in Wolfram von Eschenbach's influential *Parzival*; and by at least 1200 Godfrey de Bouillon had been integrated into the story as a direct descendant of the Swan Knight.[160] The legend follows that the Swan Knight had arrived to save the widowed countess of Bouillon and her daughter Beatrice from the would-be usurper, Renier, Duke of Saxony. After slaying the Duke in a judicial duel, the Swan Knight married Beatrice, and the pair had a daughter Ida. A condition of their union depended on Beatrice not questioning the Swan Knight's birth and antecedents; of course Beatrice breaks this condition and the Knight returns to his boat and is pulled away by the Swan who is his enchanted brother, never to be seen again. The legend follows that Ida was married to Eustace, Count of Boulogne and their children were Eustace, future Count of Boulogne, Baldwin and Godfrey, the conqueror of Jerusalem.[161] Consequently the legend of the Swan Knight had developed close links to the crusading movement, both from its inclusion in *Parzival's* pious quest for the Holy Grail and through the Swan Knight's assimilation into the genealogy of the conqueror of Jerusalem.

It is through this genealogy that any of the descendants of the counts of Boulogne could claim to be direct descendants of the Swan Knight.[162] For one member of our sample, Robert Tony (d.1309), descent from the Swan Knight was a matter of some pride and was a key element of his self-image. He is described in the *Song of Caerlaverock* as:

> Blanche cote et blanche alettes,
> Escu blanc et baniere blanche,
> Avoit o la vermeille maunche,
> Robert de Tony ki bien signe,

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[159] Denholm-Young, 'Tournament', p.119, n.1.

[160] Ibid., p.130; Keen, *Chivalry*, pp.57-9.

[161] A. R. Wagner, provides a useful précis of this story in A. R. Wagner, 'The Swan Badge and the Swan Knight', *Archaeologia*, 2nd ser. 97 (1959): 130. See also H. H. Gibbs (ed.), *The Romance of the Cheuelere Assigne*, *EETS*, extra ser. 6 (1868), repr. (Milwood, New York, 1973), which presents a fifteenth-century fragment of the sawn story written in a Midland dialect which may derive from the later fourteenth-century copy. A brief synopsis of the plot is given in the preface, pp.ii-vii. Recently a critical addition of this text has been published: R. E. Stratton, *A Critical Edition of Ceuelere Assigne: Text, Glossary and Critical Analysis*, Studies in Medieval Literature 11 (Lampeter, 1991).

[162] Wagner provides an excellent genealogy of the families 'descended' from the swan knight. Wagner, 'The Swan Badge', Plate LX.

Ke il est du chevalier a cigne.[163]

The final line has been translated by Nicholas as 'who well evinces that he is a knight of the swan.' A. R. Wagner has pointed out that this could also be translated as 'with the white swan' or perhaps 'that he is from the white swan'.[164] Either way, Tony closely associated himself with the Swan Knight; the seal that he attached to the barons' letter to the Pope in 1301 was decorated with alternate lions and swans and bore the legend: *CHEVALIER AU CING*.[165]

Tony was not the only member of the first sample who could claim descent from the Swan Knight and wished to display this proud pedigree. The Bohun family could also claim this privilege through the marriage in 1275 of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford,[166] to Maud, daughter of Enguerrand de Finnes, who, through a tortuous route, could trace his line back to an illegitimate half-brother of Godfrey de Bouillon and Count Eustace.[167] The Humphrey Bohun present at Caerlaverock was thus the first member of the Bohun family to descend from the Swan Knight and like Tony used the image of the swan on his seal on the barons' letter to the Pope in 1301.[168] The Bohuns' associations with the Swan Knight lasted throughout the fourteenth century. In 1399 Eleanor Bohun, Countess of Gloucester, left her son, Humphrey, a poem of the 'Historie de Chivalier a cigne' and 'a psalter well and richly illuminated with clasps of gold and richly illuminated with white swans and the arms of my Lord and father enamelled on the clasps . . .'[169] The fact that these heirlooms are passed to the next head of the Bohun family may be instructive. Eleanor's son was now the heir to the Swan Knight's bloodline and would also now become the keeper of this heritage and the objects associated with their family history. This may also point to the importance of this descent in the collective identity of the Bohuns'; their descent from the Swan Knight affirmed their noble status and also put them a cut above those without such a celebrated ancestor. So crucial was descent from the Swan Knight and Eleanor's self-image as a Bohun that the image of the swan features prominently on her monumental brass at

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[163] Nicholas, *Song of Carlaverock*, pp.42-3. Nicholas translates this passage as: 'A white surcoat and white alettes, a white shield and a white banner, were born with a red maunch, by Robert Tony, who well evinces that he is a knight of the swan.'

[164] Wagner, 'The Swan Badge', p.128.

[165] A reproduction of this seal can be found in, De Walden, *Some Feudal Lords*, p.115.

[166] Father of the Humphrey Bohun who appears in the *Caerlaverock Poem*.

[167] Wagner, 'Swan Badge', p.136.

[168] Ibid., Plate XXXVIII, fig.d.

[169] *TV*, p.148.

Westminster Abbey.[170] Eleanor's husband Thomas Woodstock, Earl of Gloucester, also incorporated the swan into a seal of the College of the Trinity, Pleshy, Essex, which was his own foundation and he also worked a swan into a personal seal in 1397.[171] He had a claim to this device both through his marriage and as a member of the royal family, as will be discussed below.

Through marriage into the Bohun and Tony families the use of the swan badge passed down to the houses of Beauchamp of Warwick, Stafford and the Lancastrian kings.[172] Thomas Beauchamp (d.1369) bequeathed a cup to his son Thomas in his will. This vessel was supposedly the cup that the wicked grandmother of the swan story repaired with the gold collar of one of the Swan Princes, thus damning him to remain in swan form.[173] John Rous, the Beauchamp family's fifteenth-century chronicler, also made much of that family's descent from Aneas the Swan Knight in his Roll and mentions that he had drunk from the cup passed down as a family heirloom.[174] The English royal family also had links with the Swan Knight. King Stephen was married to Mathilda the daughter of Eustace III, Count of Boulogne, and possibly in connection with the Swan Knight story, keeping of swans became an exclusive prerogative of the crown. Eleanor of Castile could also claim descent from the counts of Boulogne and her daughter by Edward I, Elizabeth, was married to Humphrey Bohun. Edward III may well have considered himself a descendant, as during the Christmas celebration at Otford in 1348, the household accounts show that the king had a tunic and shield wrought with the king's motto: 'Hay, hay, the wythe swan, by Godes soule I am thy man'.[175]

Thus the story of the swan had a great deal of resonance for several of the men present at Caerlaverock and the importance of this legend in the self-image of several individuals and families throughout the rest of the century points to its enduring appeal. The Beauchamp family, however, were able to associate themselves with a romance legend specific to the earls of Warwick: the much fabled Guy of Warwick. Again the *Song of Caerlaverock* identifies one of the combatants on this campaign with a hero of romance:

De Warwick le Count Guy,

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[170] Wagner, 'The Swan Badge', Plate XXXVIII, fig. f.

[171] Illustrated in Wagner, 'The Swan Badge', Plate XXXIV, figs. c, d and e. The swan device was also used by the Staffords after Woodstock's daughter Anne was married to Thomas, third Earl Stafford.

[172] C. K. Jenkins suggested that the s in the SS collar stood for Signus (i.e. Cygnus), but this is no more than supposition. Wagner, 'The Swan Badge', p.138, n.1.

[173] *TV*, p.154.

[174] John Rous, *The Rous Roll*, ed. C. Ross, (Gloucester, 1980), no.18.

[175] Wagner, 'The Swan Badge', p.137.

Coment ken ma rime de guy,
Ne avoit voisin de lui mellour
Baniere ot de rouge coulour,
O feasse de or et Croissille.[176]

There are serious problems with the translation of the first two lines of this passage and they may also be mis-transcribed. In the preface of the first printed edition of this poem, Nicolas's *Siege of Caerlaverock*, the author asserts that the person responsible for the creation of the poem may have been Walter of Exeter, who penned a version of the romance of *Guy of Warwick*, on the basis that the poet refers to 'ma rime *de* guy'.[177] However, in the translation of the poem itself Nicolas renders the line as 'of all that are mentioned in my rhyme' referring to the *Song of Caerlaverock* itself. In Thomas Wright's version of the poem, the line is transcribed 'comment ke en ma rime *le* guy' which is translated as 'however, I may bring him into my rhyme'; which he admits 'the phrase is still somewhat warped'.[178] It seems that the most logical reason for the poet using such an awkward choice of words (after all, rhyming Guy with guy is not the best example of the poet's art) is that the poet is referring his audience to the connection between the Earl of Warwick and his legendary 'ancestor' Guy of Warwick.[179] It is likely that the connection would have been well known by the Earl of Warwick's contemporaries, as the romance of *Gui* seems to have been at the peak of its popularity at this time: thirteen extant manuscripts in Anglo-Norman date to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century and the first Middle English translation appeared soon afterwards in the Auchinleck manuscript (c.1330-c.1340).[180] That the story was well known at the turn of the fourteenth century is also suggested by the incorporation of the prominent role played by Guy in the battle of 'Brunnanburg sur Humbre' and the victory of Guy over the Danish champion, a giant called Colebrand at Winchester, in the account of the reign of Athelstan, in the chronicle of Peter Langtoft.[181]

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[176] Nicolas translates this paragraph, 'Guy the Earl of Warwick, of all that are mentioned in my rhyme, had not a better neighbour than himself, bore a red banner, with a fess of gold and crusilly.' Nicolas, *Siege of Caerlaverock*, pp.18-9. But as we shall see there are problems with this translation.

[177] Ibid., p.iv. Emphasis added.

[178] Wright, *Siege of Caerlaverock*, pp. vii, 8. Emphasis added.

[179] A conclusion supported by Carole Fewster. C. Fewster, *Traditionality and Genre in Middle English Romance* (Woodbridge, 1987), p.107.

[180] Ibid., p.108. For the fragment of *Gui* found in the Auchinleck manuscript see, V. B. Richmond, *The Legend of Guy of Warwick* (New York and London, 1996), pp.53-4.

[181] *Langtoft*, 1: 330-3 Langtoft's chronicle was completed soon after 1306. Gransden, *c.550 - c.1307*, pp.476-86; and above, pp.149-50. Richmond has suggested that Langtoft included the story of Guy in his chronicle as he was seeking examples of earlier champions to inspire the English war effort in Scotland, and that the reign of Athelstan was given prominence due to the similarities between his achievements and those of Edward I, whose reign provides both the focus and climax of Langtoft's chronicle. Richmond, *Legend of Guy*, pp.66-9.

Such prominence did Langtoft place on the story of Guy of Warwick that an illustration of Athelstan giving homage to the pilgrim Guy of Warwick was inserted in his chronicle (Plate 4). Other chroniclers incorporated Langtoft's account of the reign of Athelstan into their own works and for the next four hundred years Guy's exploits were considered a part of England's history.[182]

The reciprocal relationship between chivalric culture and chivalric romances is aptly illustrated by the sources used in the composition of *Guy of Warwick* and the incorporation of this legendary material in the familial history of the earls of Warwick. It is probable that the romance *Guy of Warwick* was written to celebrate the marriage of Henry Earl of Warwick (d.1229) and Margery d'Oilly in 1205,[183] by one brother Angier of St. Frideswide (now Christ Church, Oxford), a daughter house of Osney Abbey which was founded in 1129 by Robert d'Oilly.[184] The union of these two families is recognised both in the selection of the name Guy, which is likely to have been derived from Wigod of Wallingford, sometime cup bearer of Edward the Confessor. One of Wigod of Wallingford's daughters married into the d'Oilly family and another married Brian Fitzcount whose deeds may have inspired incidents from Guy's life in the romance.[185] The geographical setting of Guy also points to a connection with the earls of Warwick and the d'Oilly family, as much of the action takes

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[182] Richmond, *Legend of Guy*, pp.68-76.

[183] Emma Mason asserts that the romance was 'clearly' written to celebrate this event, but this is difficult to prove. V. B. Richmond is more circumspect in providing a composition date, stating only that it was written early in the thirteenth century. Fewster asserts that it is now generally accepted that the romance was written some time between 1206 and 1214. Despite disagreements regarding the dating of this romance, most commentators agree that the poem was written either by the patronage of, or to flatter, Henry of Warwick and Margery d'Oilly. E. Mason, 'Legends of the Beauchamps' ancestors: the Use of Baronial Propaganda in Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984): 30-31; Richmond, *Legend of Guy*, pp.30-1; C. Fewster, *Traditionality and Genre*, p.105.

[184] Fewster, *Tranditionality and Genre*, p.105.

[185] Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, p.162, Mason, 'Legends of the Beauchamps'', p.31. Richmond discusses in depth the historical and literary antecedents of the romance of *Guy of Warwick* stating that, 'Chronicle accounts of the Saxon King Athelstan, the Anglo-Norman biography of William of Marshall, the hagiography of Saint Alexis, *chansons* of William of Orange and the romances of Chrétien de Troyes, especially *Yvain*, contribute to the formation of an exemplary hero whose legend begins as a synthesis of ideas from some of the most distinctive works available.' Richmond, *Legend of Guy*, p.8, and more generally, ch. 2. One must be careful, however, in placing too much emphasis on *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* as a source of inspiration for the character and career of Guy. If we consider *L'Histoire* as a direct source for *Guy of Warwick* we will have to discount the romance's earliest composition date as William Marshal did not die until 1219 and *L'Histoire* was written soon afterwards. However, it is possible that instances from the early career of William Marshal inspired the author of Guy before *L'Histoire* was composed, as William was one of the most famous knights in Western Europe, even before 1200. Richmond claims that the closest parallels between Guy and William lie in the story of an aged warrior coming to the rescue of his king and kingdom, but the circumstances are not exactly the same and this may be no more than coincidence. See, ibid., pp.16-20.

place in Wallingford and Oxford, which had passed down to the earls of Warwick from the d'Oilly family, and at Warwick Castle.[186] So the history of the real life earls of Warwick was integral in the creation of the romance of *Gui*. However within a couple of generations the legendary Guy was considered as a genuine ancestor of the earls of Warwick.

In 1268 the earldom of Warwick passed down, through a tortuous genealogical route, to William Beauchamp of Elmley, nephew to the previous Earl, William Mauduit (himself only first cousin of the half-blood of the previous holder of the earldom, Margery, countess of Warwick).[187] In what perhaps can be seen as an attempt to associate the Beauchamp family more closely with the history of the earldom, William named his son and heir Guy (born c.1272; d.1315). From this point onwards the earls of Warwick wove the legend of Guy into their own family history and self-image.[188] The name Guy briefly entered the naming tradition of the Beauchamp family; although Guy, tenth Earl of Warwick (d.1315), named his son Thomas, perhaps after his political ally and his son's godfather Thomas Earl of Lancaster,[189] but this Thomas, the eleventh Earl (d.1369), named his eldest son Guy and his third son Reinbrun (son of the legendary Guy).[190] The name Guy was not used by Thomas, twelfth Earl, who named his son Richard, and with Richard's death in 1439 the Warwick earldom passed out of the main Beauchamp line and the association between the legendary Guy and the naming of Beauchamp heirs was brought to an end.

The legendary Guy was also given lasting commemoration as part of the extensive rebuilding works carried out at Warwick Castle in the second half of the fourteenth century. Earl Thomas (d.1369) initiated this work, building a large part of the curtain wall, a gate house and barbican and Caesar's Tower (also known as Poitiers Tower in reference to the ransoms gained at that battle which helped to pay for the tower)[191] which was one of the two great towers that flanked the curtain wall on the north-east entrance to the castle. The other great tower was named Guy's Tower (Plate 5). Construction of Guy's Tower may have begun during Thomas, the eleventh earl's lifetime, but it was certainly finished by 1393 or

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[186] Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, p.162, Mason, 'Legends of the Beauchamps'', p.31-2.

[187] The complicated story of the descent of the earldom of Warwick is usefully summarised by Mason, 'Legends of the Beauchamps', pp.32-3. See also, *GEC*, 12 pt.2: 363-70.

[188] Mason notes that by naming his son Guy, Earl William broke a tradition of naming the eldest son in the Beauchamp family. E. Mason (ed.), *The Beauchamp Cartulary: Charters 1100-1268,* Pipe Roll Society, new ser. 43 (London, 1980), p.xxiv.

[189] As is suggested by John Rous. Rous, *Rous Roll*, n.48. In his Will Thomas bequeathed to his fourth son William 'a casket of gold, with a bone of St. George, which Thomas Earl of Lancaster bestowed on me at my christening'. *TV*, 1: 80.

[190] W. Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* (London, 1656), pp.397-99; DNB, 4: 598.

[191] Another legend states that it was known as the Poitiers Tower as members of the French nobility captured by Thomas at Poitiers were held prisoner there. *VCH, Warwickshire*, 8: 456.

1394 when a bailiff's account (now lost) totalling £395 was issued.[192] That the naming of the tower was not just a vague reference to the former Earl Guy, or indeed Thomas's eldest son Guy who died while in the flush of his youth in 1360, is suggested by the pivotal role that Warwick Castle plays in the romance of *Gui*. The story of Guy of Warwick falls into two distinct parts (if we ignore for the moment the story of Guy's son Reinburn which is tacked on to the end of the romance); in the first half of the romance Guy is portrayed as the ideal secular knight, fighting in tournaments and battles to win chivalric renown and the love of his *par amour* Felice. However, in the second half of the romance Guy undergoes a spiritual epiphany and pledges his sword to the service of God, wandering the Earth as a pilgrim and eventually going into retirement as a hermit.[193] Legge's translation of the Anglo-Norman original of *Gui* takes up the story of Guy's epiphany at Warwick Castle:

> One evening, when it was fine, Guy climbed on to a tower and leaned against the parapet on the top; he surveyed the country round about, and the sky, which was so starry, and the weather, which was so serene and bright. Then Guy began to reflect how God had done him great honor, . . . and how he had laboured far away in a foreign kingdom for a woman he so greatly loved, for whom he had endured so many evils, but never for his creator who has done such great honour, did he undertake to serve him. But now he will repent of it . . . in his heart he bethought himself that he would change his whole life and put himself in the service of God.[194]

It is easy to imagine that Guy's Tower was named in reference to this specific event. The romance of Guy was not only associated with the names of the Earl of Warwick but also with their *caput honoris* at Warwick Castle. The construction of this prominent landmark fixed the association of the earls of Warwick with their glorious 'ancestor'.

The earls of Warwick also owned a number of *objets d'art* connected with the romance of *Guy*. As we noted earlier, Earl Guy (d.1315) owned a copy of the romance of

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[192] There is some confusion as to under which earl's patronage Guy's Tower was erected. John Rous in his history of the family written in the late fifteenth century, states that Thomas, eleventh earl, 'wallyed the castel of Warwick', perhaps suggesting that he built the two towers which form and integral part of the curtain wall. He only attributes Thomas, the twelfth earl, with the building of the towers next to the 'downgen' or the keep of the original castle and does not mention the construction of Guy's Tower. The costs quoted in the bailiff's account which is quoted in Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* seems relatively small for the size and grandeur of the tower and may only represent the cost for finishing the tower rather than a total expenditure. Rous, *Rous Roll*, ns. 48, 49; Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, pp.401, 427; *VCH, Warwickshire*, 8: 456, see also p.456, ns.93, 94. See also, *VCH, Warwickshire*, 8: 457; N. Pevsner and A. Wedgwood, *Buildings of England: Warwickshire* (Harmondsworth, 1966), pp.453-4.

[193] The plot of the romance of *Guy* is neatly summarised in Richmond, *Legend of Guy*, pp.40-8; Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, pp.162-7.

[194] Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, pp.164-5.

Guy of Warwick which he donated to Bordesley Abbey in 1305.[195] He was also the likely owner of a mazer, dated between 1300 and 1350 which is decorated with a scene from the romance where the legendary Guy slew a dragon, and is inscribed in Lombardic letters GY DE WARWYC A NOWN KECI OCCIS LE DRAGOVN (Plate 6).[196] This is quite a large item, measuring thirteen centimetres in height and twenty-three centimetres in diameter and was probably used as a communal drinking vessel, perhaps for ceremonial purposes. The display of the Beauchamp arms of *crusily and a fess* on the legendary Guy's shield makes the explicit connection between the Beauchamps and the legendary Guy. Amongst the confiscated goods of the twelfth Earl when he fell foul of Richard II in 1397 was a number of tapestries. The subject matter decorating these tapestries is instructive. At his manor of Brailes, near Stratford-upon-Avon, hung an arras depicting the story of *Firumbras* and at Warwick Castle he had arrases illustrating the stories of *King Alexander, The Life of John the Baptist* and four costers of arras with the story of *Guy of Warwick*; the latter was perhaps the finest of the series as Richard II granted it to his much favoured nephew the Duke of Surrey.[197] Its is noticeable how similar the subjects which decorated these arras hangings are to the subjects of the books donated by Guy to Bordesley Abbey in 1305; which included a *Firumbras,* a romance of *Guy of Warwick* and a number of saints' lives, although not specifically one of Saint John.[198] This perhaps suggests more than one medium for the dissemination of *Vitas* and romances, and that manuscript survival and book ownership are not necessarily a guide to the popularity of certain stories.

We noted earlier that the Beauchamp family owned a cup which was made of the golden chain which damned the Swan Knight's brother to live forever as a swan, which was considered an important heirloom in the family and passed down from one generation to the next, ever associating them with their famous ancestor.[199] The family also passed down Guy of Warwick's 'relics'. The eleventh Earl (d.1369), bequeathed to his son Thomas 'the coat of mail sometime belonging to that famous Guy of Warwick';[200] Thomas II passed down to

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[195] See above, p.171.

[196] Translated by W. H. St John Hope as 'Guy of Warwick is his name, who here slays the dragon'. W. H. St John Hope, 'On the English Medieval Drinking Bowls Called Mazers', *Archaeologia* 50 (1887): 142. See also, Alexander and Binski, *Age of Chivalry*, no.155; Fewster, *Traditionality and Genre*, pp.109-11.

[197] *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, 6: 168, 171; Richmond, *Legend of Guy*, p.91; Fewster, *Traditionality and Genre*, pp.111-12; A. Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy: The Lords Appellant Under Richard II* (London, 1971), p.139.

[198] Blaess, 'L'Abbaye de Bordesley', p.513.

[199] See above, p.185.

[200] *TV*, 1: 79. It is interesting to speculate whether this coat of mail was the same 'best coat of mail' passed down to Thomas by his father Guy. Thomas was only one or two years of age at the time of

his son Richard all the heirlooms relating to his family's famous ancestors, including 'a [word missing] wrought with the arms and story of Guy of Warwick,[201] and the sword and coat of mail. Which was that worthy Knight's likewise harness and ragged staves;[202] also I will that the said sword and coat of Mail, with the cup of the swan,[203] and the knives and salt-cellars for the coronation of a King, shall, be, and remain to my son and his heirs after him'. The last part of this sentence is telling: the relics of Guy and the Swan Knight were to be passed down from the head of the Beauchamp clan to his heir. These objects gave a tangible link with the past, acting as 'proof' of the existence of these chivalric heroes and their membership of the Beauchamps' ancestry.

The public association of Edward I and Edward III with King Arthur, the will of the descendants of the Swan Knight to be recognised as such by the use of the swan device and the affiliation between the Beauchamp family and the legendary Guy of Warwick, reveal the discourse between the history of chivalry (as recorded in the *chansons de geste* and romance literature and repeated in many chronicles) and the culture that pervaded amongst the late thirteenth and fourteenth century. It also demonstrates that our modern conceptions of what is 'fact' and what is 'fiction' were less clearly drawn in this period. The stories of these heroes of romance were entwined in the historical and social fabric. They were exemplars of chivalric conduct and leadership.

That Edward I and Edward III were able to tap into the Arthurian legend to promote their own ambitions, in the wars in Wales, Scotland and France, was due to the fact that their peers and the chroniclers who wrote about them were aware of the legends and able to make comparisons between their achievements and the achievements of Arthur, the epitome of chivalric kingship. It was not just a matter of these kings using Arthurian legend as propaganda; they did not invent something that did not already exist and medieval chroniclers from different geographical and social backgrounds and with diverse audiences were also fond of comparing Edward I and Edward III to Arthur. For example, Peter Langtoft compared Edward I's achievements in Scotland with those of Arthur, and in his eulogy to Edward III Froissart claimed that 'His like had not been seen since the days of

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his father's death and it is possible that Guy's best armour had some how become Guy of Warwick's best armour by the time that Thomas reached adulthood. For Guy, Earl of Warwick's will, see *TV*, 1: 53-4.

[201] It is frustrating that this particular word is missing, but this may refer to the fine arras hanging depicting the story of Guy discussed above (p.192). Thomas' will was drawn up in April 1400 and it is more than likely that the arras was back in his possession at this time.

[202] The ragged staves refer to the pilgrim staff that the legendary Guy carried after his religious epiphany. The image of the ragged staff lives on alongside the Beauchamp device of a bear in the emblem of Warwickshire County. Mason, 'Legends of the Beauchamps'', p.35; Guy is illustrated with a pilgrim's staff in Langtoft's chronicle (Plate 4).

[203] See above, p.186.

King Arthur'.[204] To a certain extent this is a literary convention, but it also reflects the widespread knowledge that Arthur, and other exemplars of chivalry who formed the nine worthies, represented a high benchmark of achievement. By patronising Arthurian themed events they were overtly enforcing this link. These were also events that the military aristocracy could join with the king, casting themselves in the role of the Knights of the Round Table or the incognito knights of romance, joining in the fun and strengthening the *bonhomie* between the crown and his most important subjects.

The cases of the families who showed their descent from the Swan Knight by the use of the swan device, and the Beauchamp family's close affinity to the legend of Guy of Warwick, show the same history of chivalry being utilised in a different manner. By weaving these characters into their own genealogies they were marking themselves out as something special. Not all aristocrats could claim that they had such famous ancestors. Just as many members of the English aristocracy attempted to trace their family blood lines back to a common ancestor who had 'come over with the conqueror' in 1066, the association of these families with their legendary forefathers established a desirable antiquity, one that stretched even further back than the Battle of Hastings. Their claim to nobility was supported by the ancestry of their families. This was particularly useful for the Beauchamps who only acceded to the Earldom of Warwick in the 1260s; but by the mid fourteenth century the name Beauchamp would ever be connected with Guy of Warwick: they even had a chivalric reliquary in the armour, sword and staff which had allegedly belonged to Guy, possessions which were passed down from generation to generation. Perhaps the ownership of these objects was akin to the 'rusted sword' that the chronicler Walter of Guisborough claims the Earl of Warenne produced at the *Quo Warranto* inquiry. When challenged by royal justices to his rights, the earl produced the sword declaring 'here is my warrant. My ancestors came with William the Bastard, and conquered this land with the sword, and I will defend them with the sword against anyone wishing to seize them.'[205] Likewise, it is possible that by maintaining the relics of Guy of Warwick, the Beauchamps were demonstrating their claim to Guy's inheritance.

Whether it be Edward I or Edward III promoting their political aims by associating themselves with Arthur, or the members of the nobility displaying their ancient lineage and

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[204] For Langtoft's comparisons of Edward I to Arthur, see above pp.147-9; Berner's version of Froissart's *Chroniques* does not include Froissart's extended eulogy to the deceased Edward III, the best account is to be found in Brereton, *Froissart*, pp.195-6.

[205] *Guisborough*, p.216. As Prestwich points out there are a few problems with this story, not least that two other chroniclers identify this event with the Earl of Gloucester, and it may well be apocryphal. Prestwich, *Edward I*, p.259, n.86. However it is illustrative of how grants of land could be agreed and proved by physical objects such as knives and swords as well, or instead of, written charters. See, Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, pp.21-8.

claims to titles through their relationship with the characters of romances, it was not history in the modern sense of historical records, charters and family trees (at least not genealogically correct family trees), that they turned to, but chivalry and the legendary heroes who were the great exemplars of chivalric achievement. The stories that were concocted to provide these examples of chivalric achievement were, of course, produced to entertain the real life protagonists of chivalry who loved to hear of the epitome of their own values and ideas. But over the years the meanings of these stories changed and mutated: they were not merely words on a page to be read out as entertainment, but provided a set of values to be imitated and characters which could be incorporated into the history of a nation or the history of an individual family, forging individual identities and the corporate identity of a family or royal line.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have suggested the ways in which textual sources can be used to better understand aspects of chivalric culture: firstly by using chronicle evidence to construct attitudes towards one particular value of chivalric culture; and secondly by looking at how chivalric literature could shape the culture of the members of our sample, which in turn changed the cultural context in which these romances were viewed by different people at different times. By placing the cultural pursuits of the members of our sample centre-stage, a more nuanced picture of chivalry in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries emerges. In studying chronicle evidence for the conduct of the men of our sample, and their contemporaries in battle and in tournaments, we are able to better understand their attitudes towards the essential chivalric value of prowess. If we were to concentrate on the evidence of chivalric manuals, biographies and romance literature alone, prowess would strike us as a timeless and immutable concept. However, closer analysis reveals that the association of prowess with the deeds of the mounted cavalryman came under severe threat due to the changes in battle tactics in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The fact that martial deeds carried out on horseback were still considered the height of chivalric achievement by the men of our sample, points towards both an innate conservatism in chivalric culture and highlights how powerful the image of the mounted warrior was in the self-image of English aristocracy.

In the second half of the chapter we saw an exchange of ideas between romance literature and the chivalric culture of which the members of our sample were a part. The heroes of romance epitomised the values of ideal chivalry. In the case of the romance *Guy of Warwick* we also saw how the patronage of a particular noble house inspired the writing of what Dominica Legge has called an 'ancestral romance'.[206] The character Guy was an

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[206] Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, ch..7.

amalgam of a pseudo-historical figure, geographically rooted in the traditional holdings of the earls of Warwick and d'Oilly family, who was adopted by later earls of Warwick as a *bona fide* ancestor and by the chronicler Peter Langtoft as an historical figure. Although the plot line of *Guy* changed little in its subsequent copies and translation, the context of the legend changed, particularly by being associated specifically with the Beauchamps, who commemorated Guy in the naming of their heirs, in the naming of Guy's Tower, in the decoration of rooms in their homes through an apparently magnificent arras hanging, in ceremonial objects, such as the mazer, and importantly in the relics of Guy that were passed down through the generations. This example of the interchange of ideas between a text and the image of an individual or family illustrates again how fluid and organic chivalric culture could be. As the culture of chivalry imperceptively changed with each generation, the reception of texts also changed with the times.

Chapter 5

Chivalric Culture: The Visual Evidence

In the previous chapter the idea of a chivalric culture was explored mainly through the analysis of textual sources. However, the later Middle Ages were a period rich in visual culture. Indeed, one could argue that for a majority of the medieval population, the visual image was more important for the articulation of ideas than the written word.[1] We would certainly expect that chivalric culture was expressed in imagery as well as in text, and this chapter will attempt to reconstruct the visual culture of chivalry, with special reference to the memorials of the members of our sample. Of course most of the sensory culture of the Middle Ages has disappeared. The colourful scenes of an army on campaign, with caparisoned horses, banners and armour, and the sounds of trumpets, thundering horses' hooves and the clash of steel, can only be imagined through the descriptions of texts like the *Song of Caerlaverock*. Most of the aristocratic domiciles are now gone, or in a ruinous, or much altered state, and the vast majority of the stained glass, wall paintings and interior decorations of medieval buildings has vanished. However, there is still enough remaining to help us reconstruct the culture shared by the military elite of our sample. In particular, many religious buildings have preserved a great deal of the visual culture of these men. This was appreciated by Maurice Keen who described the churches of Europe, great and small, as 'the mausoleum of chivalry, the final resting place of its insignia and mementos of honour'.[2] And it is in the cathedrals, abbeys, and parish churches of England and Wales where our investigation of the visual culture of chivalry will begin.

One of the main foci of this chapter is to place the study of sepulchral monuments firmly within the study of chivalric culture. It is hoped that this approach will give a fresh perspective to the study of tomb monuments and their context within medieval buildings; at present there is still a great deal of scholarship which tends to treat sepulchral monuments as objects in themselves and take them out of their wider social context. Furthermore, the study of knight effigies and brasses has often been artificially separated. To a large extent this is a product of the development of the study of sepulchral monuments in the nineteenth century. Therefore in order to place this particular study in its historiographical perspective it is necessary to chart the development of the study of medieval sepulchral monuments.

The renewed interest in medievalism in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which as we have seen cast such a long shadow over the historiography of

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[1] R. Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud, 2004), *passim* and particularly ch. 1.

[2] Keen, *Chivalry*, p.178.

chivalry, also had long-term consequences for the study of medieval sepulchral monuments.[3] There is no doubt that knight effigies and brasses remained a subject of great interest to antiquarians in the post-medieval period. From Leland in the sixteenth century, through to Camden, Dugdale and Weever in the seventeenth century, sepulchral monuments and their accompanying heraldry were recorded as part of England's heritage; the real breakthrough in the field came with the publishing of Richard Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain* (1786-99), in which he attempted to describe sepulchral monuments between the Norman Conquest and the seventeenth century. Gough's great legacy was to present sepulchral monuments as a subject worthy of study on its own, and one which would shed 'no little degree of light on our manners, habits, arts, national taste, and style of architecture'.[4] The success of Gough was built upon by Charles Stothard, whose *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (1817), brought many of Britain's most famous medieval monuments to life with his excellent colour plates. Gough and Stothard reflected the growing interest in sepulchral monuments during the early nineteenth century, bringing their antiquarian interests to a larger audience. Both men had attempted to study them on a national level, but it was with the growth of county historical and archaeological societies that the study of sepulchral monuments really came into its own.[5] For many of the gentlemen antiquarians who submitted articles to these societies, sepulchral monuments held two particular interests: genealogy, revealed through the heraldry on the monuments, and the development of armour.[6] Many of these articles went no further than a description of the monument and an attempt to develop stylistic typologies and chronologies based on costume.

In many ways this approach has dominated the study of knight effigies in the twentieth century. For example, C. H. Hunter Blair's catalogue of Durham effigies and W. M. I'Anson's study of Yorkshire effigies are both limited to one county and attempt to establish chronological and stylistic categories of effigies; Alfred Fryer also worked hard to prove the existence of an independent workshop operating in the south west of England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[7] Even more recent publications have tended

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[3] See above, pp.4-8, 23.

[4] Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, 1: 8; see also, R. A. Dressler, *Of Armour and Men in Medieval England: The Chivalric Rhetoric of Three English Knight Effigies* (Burlington, Vermont and Aldershot, 2004), p.7.

[5] Dressler, *Of Armour*, p.9.

[6] Ibid., pp.9-10.

[7] C. H. Hunter Blair, 'Medieval Effigies in the County of Durham, pt.1.', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser. 6 (1929): 1-51; W. M. I'Anson, 'Medieval Military Effigies of Yorkshire', pt.1, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 28 (1926): 345-79; W. M. I'Anson, 'The Medieval Military Effigies of

to repeat this approach; Brian and Moira Gittos have done much to further our knowledge of knight effigies, but still, a great deal of their work focuses on Yorkshire effigies and the establishment of chronology based on developments in armour and the establishment of regional workshops.[8] Even longer monographs on the subject, such as Judith Hurting's *The Armoured Gisant Before 1400* (1979) and Harry Tummers' *Early Secular Effigies in England* (1980), concentrate largely on stylistic development and classification of typologies.[9]

The study of monumental brasses has followed a similar pattern. Gough included brasses alongside knight effigies in *Sepulchral Monuments*, but strangely during the mid-nineteenth century brass began to be studied as an individual genre and separated away from effigies. As with the study of effigies, attempts to provide comprehensive catalogues dominated the study in the nineteenth century, with C. R. Manning providing a descriptive list of brasses on a county-by-county basis.[10] The study of brasses was much advanced by Herbert Haines, who not only attempted to list them but also attempted to classify styles of brass based on a study of the workshops in which he believed certain brasses originated.[11] Brass rubbing proved a popular pastime for the Victorian amateur antiquarian and no doubt contributed to the founding of the Monumental Brass Society which produced a regular newsletter from 1887. It also led to a rash of popular monographs on the subject that have been described by Nigel Saul as mostly 'mediocre'.[12] These works abandoned Haines's approach of classifying brasses in terms of workshop production and instead concentrated on grouping brasses by costume. This approach remained predominant until J. P. C. Kent's groundbreaking article submitted to the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* in 1949, which provided a stylistic classification of military brasses dating between 1360 and

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Yorkshire, pt.2', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 29 (1929): 1-67; A. Fryer, 'Monumental Effigies Made by Bristol Craftsmen, 1240-1550', *Archaeologia* 74 (1923-4):1-72.

[8] For example, B. Gittos and M. Gittos, 'Yorkshire Effigies c.1300 and their place in English Sculpture', *Mediaeval Archaeology in Europe 1992, Pre-Printed Papers 7* (York, 1992), pp. 209-15; B. Gittos and M. Gittos, 'A Classification of Early Yorkshire Effigies', *International Society for the Study of Church Monuments* 3 (1980): 55; see also, B. Gittos and M. Gittos, 'The Goldsborough Effigies', *Church Monuments* 9 (1994), pp.3-32.

[9] J. Hurting, *The Armoured Gisant Before 1400* (New York, 1979); H. A. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century* (Leiden, 1980). For a similar observation, see Dressler, *Of Armour*, pp.10-11.

[10] C. R. Manning, *A List of the Monumental Brasses Remaining in England* (London, 1846).

[11] H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1861); N. Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and Their Monuments, 1300-1500* (Oxford, 2001), pp.3-4.

[12] Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory*, pp.3-4.

1480.[13] This work set the tone for much of the subsequent scholarship on the subject. Malcolm Norris's magisterial works *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials* (1977) and *The Craft* (1978), provided the definitive work on workshop styles and the chronological development of brasses, and Paul Binski, John Blair and Nicholas Rogers have compiled detailed studies of the earliest English brasses, searching for continental origins and importantly pushing the earliest appearance of military brasses in England forward from the later thirteenth to the early fourteenth century.[14] As with monumental effigies, brasses have also found their county historians who attempt to establish regional workshops; for example, Sally Badham has carried out a survey of the brasses produced from centres in the north of England and Suffolk.[15]

Generally speaking, today brasses and effigies are studied separately, attracting separate specialist scholars in each field and covered by separate specialist publications. This has led to a rather inward-looking approach to the study of effigies and brasses. Not only are they separated from each other, despite the fact that effigies and brasses were both commissioned concurrently from the fourteenth century onwards, but also the study of sepulchral monuments has tended to be separated from their social context. Much of the present scholarship persists in attempting to establish regional workshop styles, looking for the origins of each type of monument. Detailed debates continue over the development of styles of costume in order to establish the age of a monument, and in conjunction with the heraldry and inscriptions upon a monument to attribute them to individuals. Although this is a necessary element of the study of sepulchral monuments (indeed it is impossible to place sepulchral monuments in their historical context without knowing when they were created or how the sculptural style of the monuments depended upon the ateliers who made them - and this will be discussed thoroughly throughout this chapter in reference to the monuments of the men of our sample), stylistic analysis should not be considered as an end in itself. It is

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[13] J. P. C. Kent, 'Monumental Brasses: A New Classification of Military Effigies, c.1360-1485', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser. 12 (1949): 70-97.

[14] M. W. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials* (London, 1977); idem, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978); J. Coales, (ed.), *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style and Workshops, 1270-1350* (London, 1987). Much of this recent work is summarised in a series of short articles in J. Bertram (ed.), *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (Stroud, 1996). However, despite the title of Bertram's monograph brasses are rarely placed in an art-historical and socio-historical context. One notable exception is, N. Rogers, 'Brasses in their Art-Historical Context', pp.146-59.

[15] S. Badham, *Brasses from the North East: A Study of the Brasses Made in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Durham and Northumberland* (London, 1979); S. Badham, 'The Suffolk School of Brasses', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 13, pt.1 (1980): 41-67. Other examples include: R. Greenwood, 'Haines's Cambridge School of Brasses', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 11, pt.1 (1971), pp.2-12; R. Emmerson, 'Monumental Brasses: London Design, c.1420-1485', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 131 (1978): 50-78.

merely a means to discover more about the cultural milieu in which these monuments were commissioned: sepulchral monuments were not created in a cultural vacuum.[16]

Only recently has this balance started to be redressed and the social agency of medieval sepulchral monuments begun to be investigated. Anne Morganstern has focused on the context of medieval tombs in the provision of chantries. Looking at the employment of 'weepers' and heraldry on tomb chests she has postulated that members of the deceased's family who were to be remembered in a chantry provision were represented on the tomb to act as an *aide-mémoire* for a chantry priest.[17] However, this study suffers from a lack of evidence: there are few cases where chantry provisions and tomb design can be matched up and moreover, the survival of the original heraldry and weepers on a tomb is relatively rare. Furthermore, her use of evidence is selective: it is probable that many tombs were not designed to this format, a fact that goes largely without discussion. Nigel Saul has also concentrated on the social function of sepulchral monuments through a case study of the Cobham family. Saul not only discusses the sacerdotal function of sepulchral monuments, and the motivation behind the choice and designs of monuments, but also discusses the importance of sepulchral monuments in defining a family's corporate identity. Saul's monograph opens up exciting new avenues for the study of sepulchral monuments, highlighting the wealth of information that they may hold for the study of aristocratic society. However, by concentrating almost exclusively on the Cobhams, who by their wealth of monuments must be considered an exceptional case, Saul fails to place their cultural practices into a wider social context and one has the feeling that a comparative study may have produced even more stimulating results. More recently Rachel Dressler has investigated the image of the knight in sepulchral monuments in order to disclose its 'chivalric rhetoric'. Although the premise of this book is promising it has been inexpertly executed and is littered with errors.[18] She frequently relies on Tummers's *Early Secular Effigies* in order to date thirteenth-century effigies which all too often actually date from the fourteenth century. Although her argument, that the origins of the appearance of knight effigies coincided with the precarious social position of knighthood as a part of the aristocratic elite, is thought-provoking[19] (even though one could argue that the knight effigy

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[16] For similar criticisms, see, Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*, pp.4-6; Dressler, *Of Armour*, p.11.

[17] A. M. Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, The Low Countries, and England* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 2000); A. M. Morganstern, 'The Tomb as a Prompter for the Chantry: Four Examples from Late Medieval England', in E. Valdez del Alamo, with C. S. Pendergast (eds.), *Memory and the Medieval Tomb* (Brookfield, Vermont,and Aldershot, 2000), pp.81-98.

[18] This book is scheduled to be reviewed by P. J. Lankester and S. Badham in the forthcoming edition of *Church Monuments* vol. 19.

[19] Dressler, *Of Armour*, ch. 3.

was a celebration of social status rather than as a method of preventing its loss), other sections of the book which focus on the image of the knight as the resurrected body, and the argument over whether the cross-legged posture of early knight effigies indicated a crusading zeal amongst knights, are re-hashes of old arguments generally leading down blind alleys.[20] Despite the shortcomings of these monographs they surely point to a more rounded study of sepulchral monuments and this thesis attempts to add to the growing scholarship concentrating on the social function of the aristocracy's sepulchral monuments. Thirty-three monuments can be attributed to the members of our sample dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century until its close, and these were executed both in brasses and through stone sculpture. They are to be found in a range of religious institutions from the great abbeys of England to the most humble parish church. We will be looking at the motivation behind the choice of monument and what the appropriation of martial images to convey wider social messages can tell us about the importance of chivalric culture to aristocratic society. We will also be looking at how the monuments interact with other monuments and other chivalric images within a religious building. With such a cross-section of monument types and the status of the individuals who commissioned them they should reveal much about the visual culture of chivalry.

The Development of Secular Sepulchral Monuments before 1300

The sepulchral monuments of the members of our two samples were commissioned during a period of change in the style and subject of memorials. From roughly the third quarter of the thirteenth century (thus during the lifetime of members of the 1300 sample) knight effigies began to proliferate across England and Wales as a way of commemorating deceased members of the aristocracy. First sculpted in stone or wood, by the fourteenth century the image of the knight was also engraved on brasses inlaid into 'marble' slabs:[21] a practice that would gain in popularity throughout the fourteenth and into the fifteenth century. From the late thirteenth century the image of the knight became the standard form of representation for male members of the aristocracy in sepulchral monuments, a fashion that would last until the end of the Middle Ages and beyond. Alongside the widespread utilisation of heraldry in decoration, these sepulchral monuments were at the vanguard of an invasion of secular images into the most sacred spaces within religious buildings.[22] But why did the knight

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[20] Ibid., chs. 4 and 5.

[21] These slabs are actually polished limestone, but are generally known as marble.

[22] A process charted in a western European context by A. Martindale, 'Patrons and Minders: the Intrusion of the Secular into Sacred Spaces in the Late Middle Ages', in D. Wood (ed.), *The Church and the Arts: Papers Read at the 1990 Summer Meeting and the 1991 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford, 1995), pp.143-78.

effigy become *de rigueur* in the memorialisation of aristocrats from the late thirteenth century and how did fashions in sepulchral monuments change throughout the period covered by the lives and deaths of the members of our sample? Moreover, how did the mode of memorialisation compare between the members of each individual sample, and between the men of the samples themselves?

The phenomenon of knight effigy monuments in the later Middle Ages was a product of several converging factors. They were partly a result of changing attitudes by the aristocracy to spiritual patronage and partly due to a manipulation of martial images in the forging of individual, family and corporate identities amongst the highest reaches of lay society. The most radical shift in the spiritual patronage of the aristocracy came with the burgeoning of perpetual chantry foundations in the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth centuries.[23] The reason why chantries emerged as a popular focus for spiritual patronage during the second half of the thirteenth century is not entirely clear: the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) must have given momentum to the founding of chantries, as the confirmation of transubstantiation laid a greater emphasis on the Mass as the centre of liturgy. The real presence of Christ in the Mass also had consequences for the doctrine of purgatory, as the singing of masses for the souls of the dead was thought to lessen time spent in purgatory.[24] In a rather mechanical view of the doctrine, it was generally perceived that the more masses and prayers were said for the soul of the dead, the more it would hasten their salvation.[25] The popularity of chantry foundations amongst the aristocracy cannot be doubted: Joel Rosenthal has calculated that 85 families whose heads received individual summonses to parliament from the period 1307 to 1485 made a total of 281 separate grants

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[23] K. L. Wood-Legh has identified chantry-like foundations from as early as the third century, but admits that in England and France chantries 'seem nowhere to have been numerous before the thirteenth century'. K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965), pp.1-5. G. H. Cook has argued that the statute of Mortmain (1279) was inspired by the need to regulate the alienation of lands, stimulated by the vast increase in chantry foundations. However, Michael Prestwich has argued that the statute was used as a tool in the political struggle for supremacy between church and state in this period. Regardless of the motivation behind this statute, there is no doubt that sale of licences of Mortmain swelled the government coffers. G. H. Cook, *Mediaeval Chantries and Chantry Chapels,* 2nd edn. (London, 1968), pp.71-3; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp.151-3.

[24] Late medieval attitudes towards the mass and purgatory are covered in detail by E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400 – c.1580* (New Haven and London, 1992), chs. 3 and 10. Although Duffy's survey begins in the fifteenth century, I have no reason to believe that attitudes in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were substantially different. Christine Carpenter has also asserted the role of purgatory in reinforcing 'the emphasis on the individual conscience' as a motivating factor in the founding of chantries. C. Carpenter, 'The Religion of the Gentry of Fifteenth Century England', in D. Williams, (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1987), p.64.

[25] John Clopton epitomised this view in his will, drawn up in 1494: 'I know well that prayers is a singular remidie for the deliverance of soules in purgatory, and specialy the offering of the Blessed sacrament of our Lordes body', quoted from Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.347.

specifically designated for chantry purposes; 175 of those grants were made between 1307 and 1399.[26]

The enthusiasm for chantry foundations by the richest elements of lay society had unexpected implications for the use of space within religious buildings. Importantly, it stimulated a desire to be buried near the high altar, to be closer to the saying of mass and consequently the deceased might benefit from the proximity of this pious ritual to reduce time in purgatory. Thus the area in and around the choir became a much sought-after place of interment. Until the thirteenth century the founders of religious houses and their successors had usually been honoured by burial in the chapter house, and, understandably, church authorities were reluctant to allow burial within the building; for example, the 1229 status of the diocese of Worcester expressly forbade the laity from burial in the chancel.[27] The Cistercians, in particular, were reluctant to allow lay burials in their houses. William Ros (d. 1258) may have preferred to be buried in the Cistercian Abbey of Rievaulx, near his seat of Helmsley in Yorkshire and the focus of much of the Ros family's patronage up until the mid thirteenth century. However, a prohibition on burials within that house encouraged William to focus his patronage on the Augustinian house of Kirkham Priory, founded by one of his ancestors Walter Espec in 1122. Ros's ambitions were grand. He began a massive rebuilding programme centred on the presbytery, started in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, in preparation for the establishment of a family mausoleum, concomitant with the Ros's social ambitions.[28]

The case of Kirkham Priory is suggestive of why religious houses were unable to hold back burial within their walls for very long. The aristocracy were prepared to spend vast sums of money on aggrandising the religious houses for the preservation of their souls. During the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, grand rebuilding programmes were initiated in many of the great religious houses, with a particular emphasis being placed on the enlargement of the east end to prepare the house for the establishment of family mausolea. Competition between religious institutions meant that all were keen to improve the fabric of their churches, to the greater glory of God, and perhaps also to the greater glory

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[26] J. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485* (Toronto, 1972), pp.34-5. The aristocracy may well have felt that their souls needed an extra impetus in gaining salvation due to the difficulties the gospel ascribed for a rich man gaining entrance to heaven. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.334-7; Carpenter, 'The Religion of the Gentry', pp.58-9; D. W. Fleming, 'Charity, Faith and the Gentry of Kent 1422-1529', in A. J. Pollard (ed.), *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History* (Gloucester, 1984), p.44.

[27] Suggesting that pressure for lay burial within religious buildings was becoming increasingly problematic. In 1240 exceptions were made for patrons and 'sublime persons'. Marks, *Image and Devotion*, p.80.

[28] G. Coppack, S. Harrison and C. Hayfield, 'Kirkham Priory: The Architecture and Archaeology of an Augustinian House', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 148 (1995): 73. See also below, p.225

of their priors and abbots. In return for their patronage, lay elites were permitted burial inside the religious building. Even the Cistercians finally succumbed. By the fourteenth century the choir of Fountains Abbey witnessed the emplacement of knight effigies in memory of the heads of the Mowbray and Percy families.[29]

It is likely that some of the inspiration for the aggrandisement of the east ends of large religious houses by the aristocratic elite came from the activities of Henry III and Edward I at Westminster Abbey. Henry III started a massive rebuilding programme to enlarge the east end of Westminster in 1245. The reason for this building work was to create a setting suitable for veneration of the royal saint and Plantagenet ancestor, Edward the Confessor. It also provided a religious centre intimately associated with the English royal family, in emulation, but not imitation, of the tombs of the Capetian kings of France at St. Denis.[30] Unlike the royal mausoleum at St. Denis where only the crowned heads of state were commemorated, at Westminster this extended to collateral members of the royal family. During the reign of Edward I, effigies were created in commemoration of Henry III, Eleanor of Castile, Edmund Crouchback, his wife Aveline, and William Valence, half-brother of Henry III, surrounding the choir (Plate 7). The burial scheme at Westminster reflected the importance of the area around the presbytery as the most sought-after burial site in this period; it was a prime piece of real estate reserved for only the most significant of patrons.

Prayers said for the founders or great patrons of monastic churches were one method to achieve a patron's own salvation, although few aristocrats had the necessary means to undertake such a commitment. However, the establishment of perpetual chantries provided a more cost-effective alternative, ensuring that individuals would be remembered in prayer. Both K. L. Wood-Legh and G. H. Cook noted a shift in the focus of aristocratic patronage away from monastic houses and towards chantry foundations in the later Middle Ages.[31] They gave similar reasons for this change; the first was fiscal and the second was that founders of chantries had a greater degree of freedom in setting the rules that a chantry priest(s) must follow.[32] One of the most important aspects of this freedom of choice was the ability to decide who should be remembered in the masses they facilitated, and what

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[29] I'Anson, 'Medieval Military Effigies of Yorkshire, pt.2', pp.12-13; J. R. Walbran, *Memorials of the Abbey of Saint Mary of Fountains*, Surtees Society 67 (1876), pp.148-9.

[30] P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400* (New Haven and London, 1995), pp.92-3, 106.

[31] Although they disagree as to when this shift occurred: Wood-Legh suggests that this began in the twelfth century, whilst Cook opts for the close of the thirteenth century, which appears to be a safer assumption. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, p.303; Cook, *Mediaeval Chantries*, p.7.

[32] Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, pp.303-5; Cook, *Mediaeval Chantries*, pp.1-4, 16-9.

elements of the liturgy should be used. Typically, chantry deeds stipulated the saying of prayers and masses for a limited number of people, commonly the immediate family, ancestors, and social superiors; although provision for friends, associates and all Christian souls was not uncommon.[33] It is interesting that prayers for extended kin were rarely included in chantry foundations: the nuclear family, and past and future generations were the main concern.[34] One of the reasons why this might be so was that the doctrine of purgatory established a bond between the living and the dead. It was commonly thought that the dead may be able to say prayers for the living, but they were unable to say prayers for themselves and thus relied on the living to say prayers for them to achieve salvation; it was the greatest fear of those who established chantries that the foundations might fail, and they would be forgotten and left in limbo.[35] By associating a chantry foundation with the family it had every chance of perpetual survival as future generations added their own request for prayers to the original foundation. Thus the chantry would often become the focus of a family's spiritual patronage and as we shall see, played a large role in forging a family's identity.

Chantries also stimulated architectural patronage. The fourteenth century was a great age in the rebuilding and enlargement of parish churches across England and Wales and many of these rebuilding works were associated with the founding of chantry chapels. The most important function of the chantry chapel was to provide a suitable location for a dedicated altar;[36] however, the association of chantries and the families that founded them made them a perfect place for the creation of a family burial plot. As with the monastic foundations, there was great pressure from the provincial aristocracy for burial within the walls of parish churches. This is reflected in the Statutes of Chichester (1292) which decreed that only lords, patrons, their wives and the clergy could be buried in the church or chancel and also condoned the creation of monuments to patrons after their death;[37] probably this merely legitimised a practice that was already prevalent at this time.

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[33] Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise*, pp.15-20, in particular Table 1.

[34] Christine Carpenter also noticed this point in her study of the wills of the fifteenth-century gentry. Carpenter, 'The Religion of the Gentry', p.69.

[35] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.348-9.

[36] Church authorities stated that the singing of masses at the high altar should ideally be restricted to once a day. This necessitated the establishment of a separate altar dedicated to the singing of chantry masses; the masses would take place at a different time to the high mass: the installation of squints in many chantry chapels allowed the chantry priest to co-ordinate his own mass with the high mass and prevent the two rituals from taking place at the same time. Usually a separate altar was already present in a building for this purpose, but the founding of an altar by an individual or family was highly prestigious and assured that they left their mark on a specific area of the religious building.

[37] Marks, *Image and Devotion*, p.173.

It is in the context of the desire to be buried in the most sacred area of a religious building and the concern with being remembered in the prayers said at chantry masses that the burgeoning of sepulchral monuments to the elite members of secular society should be viewed. Sepulchral monuments provided a visual presence for the founder of a chantry and for members of the founder's family who were to be remembered in prayers. Subsequent generations of the founder's family might also add their own monuments as they developed the original foundation. Monuments could not only provide an *aide-mémoire* for a chantry priest, ensuring that an individual would not be forgotten, but they could also provide a powerful symbol of a family's lordship over a particular region by dominating the religious building that provided its spiritual hub. These monuments were not intended to be portraits of the deceased. In discussing the production of religious images Richard Marks has described the commission and fabrication of images thus: 'The origination of an image in a patron's mind might be governed by iconographical conventions and how it was fashioned by the carver'; [38] this was also true in the production of sepulchral monuments, which took the form of an idealisation of a member of a social elite. In establishing this iconography, monuments for the male members of the family invariably displayed two of the most potent representations of aristocracy in the later Middle Ages, the image of the knight and the use of heraldry as symbolic decoration.

The adoption of martial images in sepulchral monuments in the thirteenth century was one of the most important developments in explaining the ubiquity of knight effigies in the sepulchral monuments of the aristocracy during the lifetime of the members of our sample. During the thirteenth century, the image of the knight became concomitant with membership of the aristocracy; part of the reason for this was that during this century knighthood was becoming much more socially exclusive. The number of men assuming knighthood declined dramatically, from possibly as many as 5,000 in the mid twelfth century to the 1,100 knights recorded on the parliamentary roll of arms in the early fourteenth century.[39] Much ink has been spilled in advancing cases for why the number of knights fell so dramatically, and this is not the place to rehearse such arguments.[40] However, it is important to recognise that by the late thirteenth century those dubbed to knighthood formed

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[38] Ibid., p.237.

[39] However, estimating the number of knights in England at any one time can never be a precise science. For early attempts at estimating the number of knights in England in the thirteenth century, see N. Denholm-Young, 'Feudal Society in the Thirteenth Century: The Knights', in Denholm-Young, *Collected Papers*, pp. 83-94. For more recent attempts, see J. Quick, 'The Number and Distribution of Knights in Thirteenth century England: the Evidence of the Grand Assize Lists', in P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England III* (Woodbridge, 1991), p.116; and for a corrective on Quick's work, Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England*, p.70.

[40] Coss provides an excellent review in *The Knight in Medieval England*, ch. 3.

an elite club, restricted to the elite of lay society only. This fact is surely also linked to the enthusiasm with which the nobility embraced chivalric culture. The earliest romances reflected the aspirations of the magnates as much as it valorised the deeds of its heroes. By the period that knight effigies began to proliferate in the religious buildings of England, the image of the knight had come to symbolise power and status.

The middle of the thirteenth century was also an important period in the use of heraldry in England. The shields painted in Matthew Paris's chronicle demonstrated that heraldry was in widespread use by the highest reaches of lay society in England at this time and had probably been established for sometime, as heraldry was common in seals from the second half of the twelfth century. It also showed that heraldic arms could be used as a visual symbol to identify members of the aristocracy and played a large role in aristocratic self-image.[41] The appearance of Glover's Roll, completed circa 1253, shows that the blazon, the descriptive language of heraldry, had also become largely standardised by this time.

Thus by the mid thirteenth century, heraldry was well established amongst the members of the social elite in English lay society. It was also at this time that we begin to see secular heraldry being used as decoration in religious buildings. By as early as the 1240s Henry III was using heraldry as decoration in various media. John Cherry has noted that Henry III ordered the window shutters of his great chamber in the Tower to be decorated with the royal arms in 1240 and Peter Newton noted an entry in the liberate rolls for the decoration of two windows in the chapel at Rochester with the royal arms in 1247.[42] In an early example of a series of heraldic arms appearing in stained glass, Henry III ordered a window containing forty shields to adorn the Queen's chamber at Havering in 1268.[43] The armorial shields of Henry III, Edward the Confessor and the great English barons were also carved in the eastern part of the nave of Westminster Abbey as part of the remodelling of the east end; these shields are likely to have been carved between 1259 and 1264.[44] As Paul Binski notes, the use of heraldry as a component part of the building and as permanent display, to the extent it was used in Westminster, was unprecedented in England at this time.[45] However, it would not be long before it would be present in every religious building in England and Wales. It was also an essential component in promoting the widespread

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[41] Wagner, *History and Heraldry*, pp.14-9; Coss, pp.73-8.

[42] Cherry, 'Heraldry as Decoration', p.128; P. A. Newton, 'Schools of Glass Painting in the Midlands, 1275-1430', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 3 vols. (1961), 1:135.

[43] Newton, 'Schools of Glass', 1:136.

[44] Cherry, 'Heraldry as Decoration', pp.128-9; Scott-Giles, 'Heraldry in Westminster', 90-5; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp.76-8.

[45] Ibid., p.78.

adoption of the knight effigy. Heraldic arms were painted or carved on the shields or clothing of an overwhelming number of sepulchral monuments erected to the memory of male members of the aristocracy, making it possible to identify the person being commemorated.

The Monuments of the First Sample c.1300-c.1340

So, by the time that sepulchral monuments were being erected in remembrance of the members of our first sample, the key components of the knight effigy were already in place. A closer look at the monuments of the members of our sample will reveal how aristocratic tombs and effigies evolved throughout the fourteenth century. The 13 sepulchral monuments attributed to the members of our first sample all seem to have been commissioned in the period between about 1300 and 1340. All of these monuments take the form of knight effigies, carved in stone. They demonstrate how widespread the dissemination of knightly effigies was amongst the aristocracy and how geographically widespread this kind of memorialisation was by the early fourteenth century. They also demonstrate the insular features that developed during this period. In particular, the portrayal of the knight with crossed legs and in a sword-handling attitude. This posture was unknown in France and the Low Countries where the knight was nearly always portrayed with straight-legs and hands placed together and raised in prayer. Another notable feature of the effigies of the members of the first sample are the rich variations in costume and posture. Similarities between groups of effigies in different areas of England strongly suggest the presence of regional 'workshops', a theme that will be explored in more detail in the following pages.

The individual character and high level of craftsmanship in one of these regional workshops centring on York, is displayed in a group of effigies, classified by Brian and Moira Gittos as 'Yorkshire Series B', which includes three effigies commissioned by members of our sample or their families.[46] The earliest example from our sample has been attributed to Brian Fitzalan in Bedale parish church, Yorkshire (Plate 9). It has recently been suggested that this effigy was carved in the first decade of the fourteenth century,[47] and there seems little doubt that it was commissioned as a part of the building of a chantry chapel at Bedale, for which a licence was granted in 1290.[48] As with other effigies produced by the York ateliers, Fitzalan's is carved from a pale magnesian limestone, and the quality of the

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[46] The characteristics of this group are described in Gittos and Gittos, 'A Classification', p.55; see also, Gittos and Gittos, 'Yorkshire Effigies', pp.209-215.

[47] Gittos and Gittos, 'Yorkshire Effigies', pp.211-12.

[48] For more on the founding of the chantry chapel and the detail of Fitzalan's tomb chest, see below p.221.

carving and the acute attention to detail are striking: in a distinctive character of the Yorkshire Series B effigies the knight's head is entirely uncovered, the mail hood is pushed back and a rich mien of hair is bobbed and carefully arranged over the ears (Plate 10); the sleeves of his surcoat are unusually voluminous with the folds of the textile carved in great detail, giving an impression of movement.[49] A feature of Series B effigies is the embellishment of the sword belt with lion masks; this is also seen with the effigies at the church of St. Mary's Goldsborough, near Knaresborough, in Yorkshire. The oldest of the Goldsborough effigies also dates to the first decade of the fourteenth century, but the costume of this effigy is significantly different, most notably the head is covered in a mail coif, which shows the versatility of the York ateliers.[50] In line with a majority of English effigies of the early fourteenth century, Fitzalan's has its legs crossed, although his hands are in an attitude of prayer rather than in a sword-handling pose. The effigy attributed to William Ros of Helmsley (d.1316), which is now at the Temple Church London, but was originally situated in the choir of his family foundation of Kirkham Priory, is almost an exact replica of Fitzalan's, suggesting that the York workshop was still going strong over ten years later.[51]

The third effigy in this group belongs to William Vavasour, first Lord Vavasour (d.1313), St. Leonard's chapel at Hazelwood Castle, Yorkshire (Plate 11). In costume, this effigy is more akin to the earliest effigy at Goldsborough than either Fitzalan or Ros, which illustrates that the patrons of the York workshop had a certain a amount of choice in the appearance of their effigies. William's effigy is one of a pair, the other belonging to his brother Walter, second Lord Vavasour, who died soon after in 1315 (Plate 12); similarities between these two effigies suggest that they were commissioned at the same time.[52] These two monuments are intimately connected with the building of St. Leonard's chapel, begun in 1286, to house a chantry dedicated to the saying of prayers to members of the Vavasour family.[53]

The York 'workshop' was not the only centre of production active in the North during the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The effigy of John Fitzmarmaduke (d.1310), presently located in St. Mary and St. Cuthbert's parish church in Chester-le-Street (Plate 13), belongs to a distinctive group of effigies attributed to Durham ateliers, active

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[49] I'Anson, 'Medieval Military Effigies', pt.2, p.3.

[50] Gittos and Gittos, 'The Goldsborough Effigies', pp.3-32.

[51] I' Anson, 'Medieval Military Effigies, pt.2', pp.9-10.

[52] Gittos and Gittos, 'Yorkshire Effigies', p.212.

[53] I' Anson, 'Medieval Effigies of Yorkshire, pt.2', p.36.

from the late thirteenth century to the third decade of the fourteenth century.[54] The Fitzmarmaduke effigy belongs to a group of early effigies in the county of Durham classified by C. H. Hunter Blair as Group I. These effigies are unusual and rather menacing in appearance, characterised by their closed helm with horizontal eye slit, short sleeveless surcoat, large heater-shaped shield laid flat on the breast, and unsheathed sword carried upright in the right hand (Plate 14).[55] Other examples of this type of effigy remain in Pitting and Whitworth, County Durham, and similarities between these and two knight effigies at Furness Abbey in Cumbria suggest that this style of effigy was prevalent across the far north of England at this time. An interesting feature of Fitzmarmaduke's effigy is that it was carved in Frosterley marble, which is actually a very hard and fossiliferous limestone.[56] This medium would have been relatively difficult to carve, but the stone would be fairly resistant to weathering. Both I'Anson and Hunter Blair have suggested that it was carved in this type of stone as the effigy was originally intended to be placed outdoors, and we know that in the sixteenth century it was located in the churchyard of Durham Cathedral.[57] If I'Anson and Hunter Blair's theory is correct, this illustrates how the problem of prohibitions on burial within a religious building might be overcome: the first lay burial recorded within Durham Cathedral was Ralph, Lord Neville in 1367.[58] However, it is also as well to note that Frosterley marble takes a polish, so it could be used as an acceptable substitution for Purbeck, which was widely used in the south of England during the late thirteenth century.

The Fitzmarmaduke family seat was in Horden, near Peterlee in the palatinate of Durham, so it is entirely likely that their religious patronage focused on the centre of religion and administration in the area. It is reflective of changing burial practices amongst the aristocracy that John's son Richard (d.1318) chose to be buried in the parish church of Easington, a part of the family's demesne and a few miles from Horden itself. At Easington, Richard's effigy is located near the altar and illustrates an increasing emphasis placed on *locale* in the selection of a final resting place: as Richard Marmaduke was the lord of Horden in life, so he would remain a visible presence in death.

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[54] Blair, 'Medieval Effigies', pp.1-6; W. M. I'Anson, 'Medieval Military Effigies of Yorkshire, pt.1', p.370.

[55] Blair, 'Medieval Effigies', p.4.

[56] Ibid. Frosterley marble was used for all but one of Hunter Blair's Group I effigies.

[57] The effigy of John Fitzmarmaduke and that of his father were moved from Durham Cathedral churchyard by John Lord Lumley in the late sixteenth century and placed in the nave of the parish church of Saint Mary and Saint Cuthbert in the Lumley family seat of Chester-le-Street, County Durham. They were included in a scheme of fourteen effigies, eleven commissioned by Lord Lumley to represent his ancestors, real and imagined. Blair, 'Medieval Effigies', p.14, n.3.

[58] I'Anson, 'Medieval Military Effigies, pt.1', p.370.

The effigy of Ralph Fitzwilliam, first Lord of Grimthorpe (d.1316), has also been attributed to the Durham 'school'.[59] The effigy is now situated in the west end of the nave of the parish church of Hurworth-on-Tees, just south of Darlington, County Durham (Plate 15). It was moved here from the nearby nunnery of Neasham, probably during the dissolution.[60] This nunnery was founded by another Ralph Fitzwilliam, to whom the commemorated Ralph was sixth in line, and shows the same continuity in the patronage of one institution that we will see repeated by other families in our sample. The effigy was originally situated in the chancel of a chapel at Neasham, and we would probably be correct in assuming this was a chantry chapel founded by the Fitzwilliam family. Within the church is another helmed effigy produced by the Durham ateliers, in a similar style to that of John Fitzmarmaduke and his father. However, the effigy of Ralph Fitzwilliam is different in both costume and attitude: the fully helmed figure has given way to an open visage encased in a round-topped skull cap under a hood of mail; his head rests on two pillows, whereas the Fitzmarmaduke effigy lay on one; furthermore, his hands are raised in prayer rather than the sword-handling posture of the Fitzmarmaduke effigy; the use of Frosterley marble has also given way to a local sandstone. The Fitzwilliam effigy is one of Hunter Blair's Group III effigies that date from about the 1320s, other examples including Richard Fitzmarmaduke at Easington, and effigies at Brancepeth, Egglescliffe and Elton, all in County Durham.[61] Here we see a significant change in style from the early highly militaristic effigies in Group I. They seem to have absorbed influences from the Yorkshire Group B effigies and those associated with the 'court workshop' probably based in Westminster. Brian and Moira Gittos have suggested that the relocation of Edward I's government to York during the war with Scotland had a profound effect on the York workshop, stimulating the innovation of Group B effigies during the first decade of the fourteenth century, with the movement of 'court' craftsmen to the North.[62] It would perhaps not be surprising to find that the influences that created the Group B series at York spread northwards to influence the design of effigies produced by the Durham ateliers.

There is no doubt that the ateliers who created the high-status, high-quality effigies of Edmund Crouchback and Aymer Valence in Westminster Abbey (Plate 16), influenced the design of effigies across the southeast of the country.[63] The effigy of Aymer Valence

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[59] I'Anson, 'Medieval Military Effigies, pt.2', p.7; Blair, 'Medieval Effigies', pp.20-1.

[60] R. Davies, 'Grimethorpe, A Monograph', *Yorkhire Archaeological Journal* 2 (1873): 200; I'Anson, 'Medieval Military Effigies, pt.1', p.369; I'Anson, 'Medieval Military Effigies, pt.2', pp.6-8.

[61] Blair, 'Medieval Effigies', pp.5-6.

[62] Gittos and Gittos, 'Yorkshire Effigies', pp.213-14.

[63] C. Blair, 'The De Vere Effigy at Hatfield Broad Oak', *Church Monuments* 8 (1993): 9-10; J. Harvey, *English Medieval Architects* (Gloucester, 1987), pp.45-7; Count P. Biver, 'Tombs of the

remains one of the Westminster ateliers' greatest achievements and deserves to be looked at in greater depth. A letter from Aymer's second wife Marie St. Pol to Edward II discussing his burial suggests that his tomb effigy was commissioned soon after his death in 1324.[64] The design of Valence's effigy owes much to that commemorating Edmund Crouchback (d.1296), whose tomb is situated immediately to Aymer's east (Plate 17).[65] Both effigies have their hands raised in the attitude of prayer, but whereas Crouchback is turning slightly toward the altar, Valence's looks straight ahead. The most striking element of the monuments to Crouchback and Valence are the arched and gabled superstructure enclosing the arcaded tomb chest, designed in the so-called 'ciborium'[66] style (Plate 18).[67] The adoption of the ciborium style and the manner of its execution clearly demonstrates the fusion of continental and insular styles, which permeated the sepulchral monuments at Westminster, created in the late thirteenth century and first half of the fourteenth century.[68] Ciborium tombs first appeared in France and Italy during the second half of the thirteenth century, but at Westminster the radiating foliage decoration and the detailing of the crockets on the gable are not found on similar continental examples. Lawrence Stone has also emphasised the influence of the Eleanor Crosses, erected in the 1290s, on their design and decoration.[69]

The most unusual feature of the canopies over the tombs of Crouchback and Valence is the appearance of knights on horseback, carved in relief in trilobed panels (Plates 19 and 20). As Binski has noted of the Crouchback tomb, the head of the mounted knight, in

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School of London at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century', *Archaeological Journal* 67 (1910): 51-65.

[64] Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs*, p.73; Phillips, *Aymer Valence*, p.239.

[65] For details of this tomb see, Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp.115-18; L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain, The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1972), pp.145-6.

[66] Blair, Goodall and Lankester note: '"*Ciborium*" tomb is the term that has been coined for the type of free-standing tomb that is surmounted by a [gable shaped] high canopy . . . It is so called because it resembles the altar-canopy that is also sometimes given the same name, but the term is not entirely felicitous since the more widely understood application of *ciborium* is to the container from which the priest distributes the Blessed sacrament at Mass.' Parenthesis added. C. Blair, J. Goodall and P. J. Lankester, 'The Winchelsea Tombs Reconsidered', *Church Monuments* 15 (2000): 6, n.6.

[67] A series of three ciborium tombs lines the north side of the Presbytery at Westminster. The earliest belongs to Aveline de Forz (d.1273), wife of Crouchback; moving west to east, her monument is followed by Aymer Valence and Crouchback himself. For the spread of Ciborium tombs from the continent to England see L. L. Gee, ''Ciborium' Tombs in England 1290-1330', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 132 (1979): 29-41. For another example of a series of Ciborium tombs at Winchelsea and further analysis of the genre see Blair, Goodall and Lankester, 'Winchelsea Tombs', pp.5-30.

[68] Also apparent in the base of Edward the Confessor's shrine and Henry III's tiered tomb chest. Gee, ''Ciborium' Tombs', p. 29; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp.93-104.

[69] Gee, ''Ciborium' Tombs' pp.30-4; Stone, *Sculpture in Britain*, p.145.

an attitude of prayer on his caparisoned horse, looks up directly into the rood above the high altar:[70] thus a combination of his effigy and this figure represent Crouchback giving prayer simultaneously to the two most sacred areas of the Confessor's sanctuary. The attitude of the mounted figure on Aymer's canopy is much more secular. Whereas Crouchback's horse is posed in a stately canter, Valence's horse charges at full-tilt with its caparison pushed back by the wind, and the mantling of the helmet flows out both front and back. Stone has remarked on the unreality of this scene, 'removed from the rules of time and space'.[71] This is an idealised image of the knight in action in the tournament or on the battlefield, whereas the image on Crouchback's canopy could easily represent a rider in a funeral cortege. Thus, although *prima facie* these monuments look similar, and may have been carried out by the same atelier, the images of those commemorated have a distinctly different mood.

The inclusion of the mounted warrior on both of these monuments indicates how important this image was in the ideological makeup of the aristocracy. Another monument to a member of our sample to display an equine theme is that of William Leybourne (d.1310) at Minster-in-Sheppey, Kent (Plate 21). C. A. Stothard, amongst others, attributed this monument to the Kentish banneret Robert Shurland, an assertion which seems to have been based on a colourful local legend associated with that individual.[72] Stothard produced a coloured drawing of the effigy based on its condition in the early nineteenth century, with the surcoat decorated with a series of lions on an azure background representing the arms of Leybourne, *azure, six lions rampant argent.* Stothard explained the identification of Shurland by the fact that he had been a retainer of William Leybourne on the Caerlaverock campaign, and as such may have adopted his arms. Although the practice of adopting the arms of one's captain may have been common practice during this period, as Richard Marks has correctly affirmed, Shurland is not included in the *Caerlaverock* Poem and there seems no reason to doubt that this monument was intended for Leybourne himself.[73] Leybourne died in 1310 and the architectural details of the tomb recess and the armour displayed on the effigy suggest that the monument was erected retrospectively in the 1320s.[74] The posture of this knight is unusual: he lies on his side, legs crossed, with his face turned to the heavens; his left arm grasps his shield straps and his right hand rests upon the pommel of his sword;

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[70] Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp.117-18.

[71] Stone, *Sculpture in Britain*, p.160.

[72] Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, pp.71-3; R. Marks, 'Sir Geoffrey Luttrell and Some Companions: Images of Chivalry, c.1320-50', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46-47 (1993/94): 344.

[73] Marks, 'Sir Geoffrey Luttrell', p.344.

[74] Ibid., pp.344-5.

underneath his shield and running the length of the tomb chest is his banner; his feet rest upon an armed retainer or standard bearer; to the right of the effigy is a horse's head. In discussing this and similar monuments that include equine images, Marks has concluded that they were present 'in order to symbolise the power and status of the patron'.[75] The tombs of William Leybourne and Aymer Valence demonstrate the fusion between the classic image of chivalric knighthood, the mounted knight, with the image of lordship and power. This image is one that adorned seals since the eleventh century and its application on sepulchral monuments was intended to convey the same sense of authority.

The effigies of the members of our sample discussed above characterise a feature of the tomb effigies in the first half of the fourteenth century. They illustrate the individual approaches to effigy and tomb design developed by flourishing regional 'workshops'; particularly noticeable in the helmed figures of the early Durham ateliers, the liveliness and attention to detail of the Yorkshire group B effigies; the fusion of French and English sculpture on the tombs on the north side of the presbytery at Westminster Abbey; and the unusual motifs on the tomb of William Leybourne in Minster-in-Sheppey. There are other examples of individualistic effigy designs from regional production centres beyond the members of our sample. Particularly striking examples are the rather ascetic looking knights lying on beds of pebbles in the tomb designs of Roger Kerdeston at Reepham and Oliver Ingham at Ingham, both produced locally in Norfolk.[76]

The Monuments of the Second Sample c.1360-c.1400

For the members of the 1359-60 sample, the designs of a majority of the monuments became much more standardised. This was mainly due to the dominance of alabaster in the tomb production market in the second half of the fourteenth century. The rise in alabaster as the most popular medium in the production of effigies coincided with the decline of the great regional workshops, which ceased to produce free-stone effigies in the number they had done in the early fourteenth century. There seems little doubt that the loss of craftsmen during the Black Death took its toll on the production of these regional workshops. John Maddison has asserted that in the diocese of Lichfield a lodge of masons working in the 'Yorkshire manner' was disrupted and eventually disbanded after the pestilence, and that many of the buildings they were working on were not finished for another thirty years; work on the nave and choir of York Minster was similarly delayed and Lawrence Stone believes

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[75] Ibid., p.348.

[76] E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, ed. H. W. Janson (London, 1964), p.56; Stone, *Sculpture in Britain*, pp.167-8; N. Ramsey, 'Alabaster', in J. Blair and N. Ramsey (eds.), *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products* (London, 1991), pp.32-36.

that the virtual disappearance of a prolific school of sculptors at Beverley may have been as a result of the Black Death.[77] In this context it seems unlikely that effigy production would remain unaffected. However, the use of alabaster in tomb production began before 1348. In the 1330s the high-status effigies of Edward II (d.1327) at Gloucester Cathedral, John of Eltham (d.1336) at Westminster Abbey and William of Hatfield (d.c.1340) at York Minster, demonstrated the quality of carving that could be produced with this rather 'soft' stone. The use of alabaster in the tombs of the royal family may have been in imitation of the white marble effigies of the French Royal tombs, but a more accessible and cheaper commodity.[78] The use of alabaster for royal tombs no doubt boosted the market for it amongst the aristocracy.

The production of alabaster tombs was mainly centred in London and this workshop greatly standardised the design of effigies, as the work of effigy production became more specialised. Invariably the alabaster effigies of the men of the 1359-60 sample displayed a rather linear, stiff attitude in comparison with the graceful movement of the cross-legged sword-handling effigies of the first sample. The effigies of Richard Pembridge (d.1375) and Guy Bryan (d.1390) are almost identical in form: a knight recumbent, straight legged, hands raised in the attitude of prayer, and eyes raised squarely to the heavens. Even when knight effigies were included in double tombs representing the lord and his wife, the posture is rather formal and rigid with no interaction between the two characters. The double tomb of John Marmion (d.1387) and his wife Elizabeth St. Quentin (Plates 22 and 23) is an exquisite monument and very typical of its time; however, both of their effigies could stand alone. Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1369), attempted to add an element of affection in the double tomb with his wife Catherine Mortimer, as the two effigies are shown holding hands (Plate 24). Nonetheless, the effect is totally artificial; both the knight and his lady stare upwards into space; Thomas's right arm lies stiffly at his side bent only at the elbow; his hand loosely holds the right hand of Catherine which is stretched across the length of her body; Thomas's posture is stiff and straight-legged, and the left arm rests in an awkward, taut pose, slightly bent at the elbow, with his thumb resting in his belt, as if Thomas does not know what to do with his other hand.

As demand for sepulchral effigies increased in the second half of the fourteenth century, so did the pressure to produce an affordable product for a wider cross-section of the aristocracy. As Stone points out, standardisation equates to affordability: 'the close similarity of basic designs and style of the various tombs produced by the same artists

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[77] P. Lindley, 'The Black Death and English Art: A Debate and Some Assumptions', in P. G. Lindley and W. M. Ormrod (eds.), *The Black Death* (Stamford, 1996), pp.130, 137-8, 142; Stone, *Sculpture in Britain*, p.177.

[78] Ramsey, 'Alabaster', pp.30, 32.

together with the use of the extremely easily worked material of alabaster combined to make possible the sale of highly furnished and elaborate work at the price that was within the purse of the middle and upper landowning classes'.[79] The contract drawn up in 1376 between Henry Lakenham, marbler of London, and the executors of Nicholas Louvayene's will outlining the production of an effigy along with a marble tomb chest incorporating eight brass shields, the heraldry upon which was not specified, came to a grand total of £17 6s. 8d.[80] This sum is high but not necessarily prohibitive: the graduated poll tax of 1379 suggests that anyone earning more than £40 should be equated to a knight, and this should probably be considered a minimum figure.[81] The contract between Lakenham and Louveyne's executors also suggests that those who commissioned effigies in the second half of the fourteenth century were ordering a standard product. The executors requested an image of a knight, in this case in freestone rather than alabaster, with his head on a helm and feet on a lion, his arms to be depicted on his coat armour. It is almost as if they are requesting a standard model with optional extras.

There is one member of the second sample who breaks the mould in the style of his effigy. Whereas most sepulchral monuments in the fourteenth century were located inside chantry chapels, the effigy of Edward Despenser (d.1375) represents a fusion between a chapel and the monumental effigy (Plate 25). In his will Despenser merely ordered that his body should be buried in Tewkesbury abbey, 'on the south side near the bodies of his ancestors'.[82] However, his wife Elizabeth Burghersh, commissioned the building of a 'stone cage' chantry chapel, dedicated to the Trinity, a cult to which Edward Despenser was particularly devoted. The chapel is quite compact, situated between two pillars on the south side of the choir and was perhaps only big enough to accommodate a handful of priests praying at a dedicated altar. This small chapel is delicately carved and some of the interior devotional wall paintings can still be seen, illustrating Edward and Elizabeth kneeling in prayer either side of the Trinity.[83] This chapel represents the height of private devotion. Two doors to the north and south give access to the choir, but when the doors are closed this edifice provides an enclosed area within the already exclusive space of the sanctuary. Indeed, the masses said inside the chapel may have been devoted entirely for his benefit, as

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[79] Lindley, 'Black Death', p.180.

[80] J. Blair, 'Henry Lakenham, Marbler of London, and a Tomb Contract of 1376', *Antiquaries Journal* 60, pt.1 (1980): 66-74.

[81] Keen, *English Society*, p.9.

[82] *TV*, 1: 99.

[83] P. Lindley, 'The Later Medieval Monuments and Chantry Chapels', in R. K. Morris and R. Shoesmith (eds.), *Tewkesbury Abbey: History, Art and Architecture* (Almeley, 2003), pp.169-71.

the tombs of his wife and son were located in the choir. Edward Despenser's effigy does not reside within this chapel, but is located on top of it (Plate 26). In a break with convention, Edward is depicted, fully armed, kneeling on a tasselled cushion and sheltered by a tall pinnacled canopy; he is in an attitude of prayer and facing the high altar. Thus, Edward's effigy is brought within the fold of a series of Clare and Despenser monuments crowding the choir and surrounding the presbytery.

The image of the kneeling knight is entirely unique in extant knight effigies in England, although Thomas Erpingham is represented as a kneeling knight in a sculpture in a niche in the Church Gate (sometimes known as the Erpingham Gate) at Norwich Cathedral.[84] The image of a kneeling knight was also common in devotional paintings and stained glass, an attitude often associated with donors; for example, the seal of the College of St. George's Windsor depicts Edward III, kneeling in supplication to St. George, an image Edward Despenser would have been familiar with as a Knight of the Garter (Plate 27). The great majority of the other freestone and alabaster effigies belonging to the members of the second sample are rather conventional and lacking such innovation; however, a different type of sepulchral monument was rapidly gaining in popularity during the second part of the fourteenth century: the monumental brass.

Brasses had several advantages over stone effigies. Firstly they provided a degree of flexibility in the style and size of the monument a patron might want to commission.[85] Because the brass was inlaid into a stone slab it was also easy to meet the customer's preferences regarding the number of heraldic shields to be included on the monument; a standard shield pattern would just need engraving with different arms, which then could be inserted into the incised inlay. Likewise other smaller figures could be added to the brass, whether they be the Virgin and Child, the Trinity, saints, or in the case of Hugh Hastings's brass at Elsing, Norfolk, his comrades in arms. In the fifteenth century, children were also often included. Inscriptions were also commonly ordered and the standard form of the letters made longer inscriptions much more cost-effective than carving them into stone. All these factors meant that the cost of brasses could vary much more widely than a stone effigy, from £12-13 for, as Nigel Saul puts it, the 'elaborate de luxe brass with life-size figures' to the smaller brasses which could cost as little as £2-3.[86] Another advantage of brasses is that, as they are flat, they can be laid directly in front of the altar and not interfere with the ritual and processional elements in the saying of mass, or block the view of the high altar. The

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[84] I. Atherton, E. Fernie, C. Harper-Bill and H. Smith (eds.), *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096-1996* (London and Rio Grande, Ohio, 1996), fig.71, pp.454-5.

[85] Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*, p.71.

[86] Ibid.; see also, Norris, *The Craft*, pp.52-3.

desire for laypersons to be buried in the choir also made this an important consideration; stone effigies tend to be large and bulky and many fewer could be fitted into the choir. The durability of brass also made it an ideal material to place on the ground, as it was very resistant to the wear and tear of people walking over it. All of these factors contributed to the burgeoning popularity of brasses during the late fourteenth century. They could appeal to the sensibilities and purse of a large cross-section of society, not least the aristocracy. It seems that the first brasses appealed mainly to the clergy and provincial knightly families, but the fashion quickly extended up the social hierarchy. By the end of the fourteenth century the titled nobility and even members of the royal family would commission brasses. The five members of the 1359-60 sample who were commemorated in this way underline this trend.

The earliest member of the sample that we can find commemorated by a brass was Michael Poynings at Holy Trinity church in Poynings, Sussex. The brass has been lost but the indent still remains in a Purbeck marble slab (Plate 28). This brass once displayed the figures of a knight and lady under a double canopy with two heraldic shields either side of the knight's canopy and the same for that of the lady.[87] These shields no doubt once contained the arms of the parents of Michael and his wife Joan Rokesley. As we have seen in previous chapters, Michael Poynings's career was defined by his service to the crown in war and administration; he was also raised to the parliamentary peerage in 1348. Poynings was clearly quite wealthy by the time of his death in 1369 as he left 200 marks in his will to contribute towards the rebuilding of Holy Trinity church.[88] The rebuilding of the church was associated with the chantry established by Michael in 1362 for the saying of prayers for the royal family and for his progenitors and heirs.[89] Holy Trinity church was also something of a family mausoleum; indents of a brass cross belonging to Michael's mother, which may have inspired his choice of a brass monument, and a single knight figure belonging to his heir Thomas (d.1387), are located with Michael's monument in a large chapel off the south aisle, which was likely to have been a dedicated chantry chapel.

The careers of two other men who chose to be commemorated in brass monuments were also defined by their service to the crown. Nicholas Burnell, like Michael Poynings, was a banneret of the royal household and had an active military career. A brass commemorating Burnell has survived at Acton Burnell, Shropshire. Like Poynings, Burnell focused his patronage on the parish church closest to his main seat of residence, a theme that

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[87] J. Bertram, 'Poynings, Sussex, Revisited', *Monumental Brass Society* 14, pt.2 (1987), p.87.

[88] *TV*, 1: 73.

[89] *CPR*, 1361-64, p.263.

we will return to later in this chapter.[90] A brass monument at Worcester Cathedral which has now been lost also commemorated the much-defamed John Beauchamp of Holt.[91]

The most famous series of brasses in England are those belonging to the Cobham family, at Cobham parish church, Kent, which will be discussed in greater depth below. The brass of John Cobham itself provides an interesting insight into the purpose of brasses and the intimate relationship between sepulchral monuments and chantries. The brass was commissioned well before Cobham's death. It was one of four that he ordered in the 1360s, in conjunction with the founding of a college at Cobham (Plate 29).[92] The establishment of Cobham College forms an integral role to the design of the brass. John is shown, fully armed, cradling a church in his arms, denoting his position as a founder. The figure is placed under a delicate canopy, which at one time incorporated an image of the Virgin and Child on a plinth atop of it. Two shields bearing the Cobham arms flank the Virgin and Child. The inscription around the edge of the brass includes an appeal for prayers from passers-by and also makes a special appeal for protection from the Trinity, to whom, like the Black Prince, Michael Poynings and many other members of the military community in the second half of the fourteenth century, showed a special devotion. It perhaps also shows that Cobham saw his roles as a warrior and spiritual patron as key indicators of his status.

By the end of the fourteenth century, brasses found favour amongst the highest echelons of lay society. This is no better illustrated than with the tomb of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1401). Thomas was interred in the family chapel at St. Mary's church, Warwick. His monument originally consisted of a large marble tomb chest with an elaborately carved canopy above, supported by four pillars, similar in shape to a four-poster bed. This tomb chest and canopy have since been destroyed, but an engraving by Hollar in Dugdale's *Warwickshire* shows that at the head of the tomb chest there were two shields, probably of inlaid brass, divided by the knotted staff of Warwick; although the engraving is unclear, these shields seem to represent the houses of Beauchamp and Ferrers, for Thomas and his wife Margaret.[93] The side panels of the canopy also displayed possibly as many as sixteen shields. This once grand tomb was destroyed in a fire and the damaged

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[90] The association between the Burnell family and the church at Acton Burnell is covered in, C. H. Hartshorne, 'On the Ancient Parliament and Castle of Acton Burnell', *Archaeological Journal* 2 (1845): 328-30. This article lists other Burnell monuments in the church and includes a small reproduction of Nicholas Burnell's brass (p.329). For the association of the monuments of our sample and local parish churches, see below, pp.230-1.

[91] W. Thomas, *A Survey of the Cathedral-Church of Worcester* (London, 1737), p.97; M. Downing, 'Medieval Military Effigies up to 1500 Remaining in Worcestershire', *Transactions of the Worcester Archaeological Society*, 3rd ser. 18 (2002): 177.

[92] Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*, pp.95-6.

[93] A copy of this engraving can be found in: M. Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar: History Illustrated* (Newark, New Jersey, and London, 2002), p.26.

remains of the brass are now affixed to a wall on the entrance of the Beauchamp chapel. The brass displays the figure of a knight and his lady under a double canopy with paired shields above each character, much in the style of Michael Poynings's indent. The sepulchral monuments of successive earls of Warwick from Thomas (d.1369) are made of different materials: Thomas and Catherine Mortimer are commemorated by classic alabaster effigies, Thomas (d. 1401) and his wife Margaret a double brass, and their heir Richard (d.1439) in a cast bronze effigy, although this monument was begun fifteen years after his death. In choosing a brass, Thomas (d.1401) was clearly following a contemporary fashion: his co-opponent of Richard II, Thomas Woodstock, Earl of Gloucester, also chose to be represented in a brass that once lay in Westminster Abbey.[94]

Taken as a whole, the monumental effigies and brasses of the members of our sample seem to be representative of the fourteenth-century aristocracy. Their monuments reflected changing fashions in style and medium, and also demonstrated the devotional practices current in the late medieval aristocracy at large. They have much to tell us about the corporate identity of these men; in particular how the image of the knight was equated with status and power. Yet, the monuments themselves cannot be studied in isolation. For us to reconstruct the *mentalité* behind these monuments it is necessary to discuss their context, how they interacted with other monuments and the space within a given religious building. It is also necessary to understand the use of heraldry as a communicative symbol that expressed how an individual wished to be remembered. It is these issues that will be addressed in the next part of this chapter.

Mausolea, Heraldry, 'Weepers' and Tomb Chests

As discussed earlier, the establishment of chantries and the commissioning of sepulchral effigies allowed for the evolution of highly visible mausolea.[95] The establishment of mausolea represents more than just a matter of family pride: they also fulfilled a spiritual function and when combined with heraldry could produce a range of social and political statements. Before we can discuss family mausolea, however, I should add one caveat: it was not unusual for monuments of our sample to be erected some considerable time after an individual's death, perhaps commissioned by a subsequent heir or heirs who wished to project their own political and social aspirations on the monument of one of their predecessors. For example, Anne Morganstern noted in her study of Aymer Valence's monument that the heraldic programme represented on the tomb chest reflected more the

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[94] Bertram, *Monumental Brasses*, pp.149-50; M. Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England* (Stroud, 2003), pp.155-8.

[95] See above, pp.201, 203-5.

political predicament faced by his widow, Marie St. Pol, than it reflected the life, career, and kinship links of her husband. On either side of the tomb chest eight figures are carved in relief under canopies which display a trefoil in their centres, much like the larger canopy above Aymer's effigy itself. These figures are often termed 'weepers' and were once thought to represent mourners in a funeral cortege. This may well be true of some later tombs; but, particularly in England in the first half of the fourteenth century, these characters are representative of real-life people, striking a pose reflective of their status. For example the members of the royal family displayed on Edmund Crouchback's tomb carry sceptres and wear crowns.[96]

On Valence's tomb in Westminster Abbey, the 'weepers' represent members of Aymer and Marie's extended family, some living in 1324, some already dead. They are identified by shields in between each canopy (Plate 16). At the beginning of each sequence is a half-shield bearing the heraldry of Valence's parents; these have no corresponding figure. On the side that faces into the ambulatory, the very public face of the tomb, the first two 'weepers', reading the tomb in order of precedence from head to foot, show a Hastings, heirs to Aymer's earldom of Pembroke, and a lady with the shield of Atholl, a daughter-in-law of Aymer's sister Joan. These two figures show the descent of the Valence line through Aymer's sisters, the only branch active as Aymer died without issue. However, the other six figures represent Marie St. Pol herself and members of her family; likewise, the side facing the sanctuary shows a mutual cousin in Henry Earl of Lancaster (d.1345). The remaining figures all represent members of Marie's extended continental family, including dukes of Brittany, counts of St. Pol, Valois and the sire of Coucy.[97] Morganstern persuasively argues that this programme was chosen due to the vulnerable position of St. Pol as Valence's widow. It is well known that the Despensers attempted to sequester her English estates, and the iconography and location of Aymer's tomb in St. Edwards's sanctuary, the focus of the court's spiritual life, was to remind them that she had very powerful and influential French relatives. To put it crudely, if you mess with Marie St. Pol, you mess with her entire extended kinship network.

However, it does not always follow that the heraldic schemes chosen for a particular tomb reflected the ambitions of those who commissioned the monument. Valence's case is probably an exception, a product of unusual political circumstances. The 'weepers' on Brian Fitzalan's tomb certainly reflected his own wishes and also show how tombs were often intimately associated with chantries, acting as *aide-mémoires*. His tomb chest was originally divided into five canopied compartments, each containing a weeper, one lady, three armed

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[96] See the detail of two of these figures in: Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs*, p.71. Also, Stone, *Sculpture in Britain*, pp.146-7.

[97] Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs*, pp.74-9.

knights and an archbishop.[98] The secular figures all carried shields bearing the Fitzalan arms, identifying them as Brian's first wife and three sons, who all died before 1290.[99] In that year Fitzalan founded a chantry at Bedale and rebuilt the parish church to accommodate the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin for which he commissioned a tomb and effigy for his wife.[100] The chantry foundation deed specifically requested prayers for the souls of the countess of Richmond (his tenurial lord), his father, mother, wife and his sons Thomas, Robert and Theobald, all deceased.[101] Thus, the 'weepers' on his tomb chest represent a visual chantry: prayers must be said for the immediate members of his family with his first wife mentioned in the foundation deed, although the figure of the archbishop remains enigmatic.

Morganstern has argued that a possible function for 'weepers' on tombs was to act as a direct *aide-mémoire* for the chantry priest saying mass, in a similar way to Fitzalan's tomb chest. She notes that the 'weepers' on the tomb of Elizabeth Montfort, Lady Montacute, represented members of her family mentioned in the chantry foundation she created at St. Frideswide's, Oxford.[102] She also asserts that the position of the heraldry and the 'weepers' on the tombs of Henry Burghersh, bishop of Lincoln and his brother Bartholomew, in Lincoln Cathedral, could be directly used by a chantry priest in the saying of masses for the souls of those specified by those two individuals.[103] Thus the heraldry on these tombs could be figuratively 'read'; however, it must be pointed out that for a majority of the service the priest would have had his back to the tombs. A great deal more research needs to be done before this can be conclusively proved, and it may well be that this was just one of the communicative purposes of heraldry on tombs; but we can see some of the monuments of the members of our sample being used in this way. John Cobham commissioned four brasses to represent himself, his father John, second Lord Cobham, his aunt, Margaret Fitzherbert, and his uncle, Thomas Cobham of Beluncle in Kent.[104] As we noted earlier, these brasses were ordered so that they might be placed in front of the altar of Cobham church, coinciding with his foundation of Cobham College. It may well be that these brasses acted as an *aide-mémoire* for the chantry priest. Subsequent brasses

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[98] H. B. McCall, *The Early History of Bedale in the North Riding of Yorkshire* (London, 1907), p.95.

[99] Ibid., p.40.

[100] Ibid., p.97.

[101] Ibid., p.40.

[102] Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs*, pp.1-2.

[103] Ibid., pp.109-14.

[104] Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*, pp.97-8.

commemorating successive and collateral members of the Cobham family, as well as many rectors of the college, may have been commissioned as prayers for them were added to the growing list of those who were to be remembered.[105]

Although it is not possible to say with any certainty that 'weepers' and heraldic shields decorating tombs are representative of those who were to be remembered in chantries (and the 'weepers' on Aymer Valence suggest this is doubtful), the choice of those included on sepulchral monuments provides an interesting insight into aristocratic self-perception. In particular there seems to be a constant striving to display how an individual thought he fitted into the social schema. Nigel Saul's detailed study of the heraldry upon the tomb chest of Reginald Cobham, first Lord Cobham of Sterborough (Plate 30), is instructive in the selection of the shields of the individuals and families included on the tomb chest, and how those chosen reflected many different aspects of Reginald Cobham's career and status within the local and national aristocracy.[106]

The shields on Reginald Cobham's tomb chest followed a standard protocol in the positioning of heraldry. When shields appear on all four sides, the tomb should be read from head to foot, in terms of the order of prestige and status that those included were held. The area under the head of the tomb is usually reserved for the person commemorated and marriage or kinship links. On Cobham's tomb, two shields are displayed: *gules on a chevron or, 3 estoiles sable* for Reginald Lord Cobham (d.1361), and *gules, a chevron between 10 crosses formy, six in chief, four in base, argent*, for Thomas Lord Berkeley (d.1361), articulating the marriage between Reginald and Berkeley's daughter Joan. Without exception, marriage ties take pride of place in the heraldry on tomb chests. The importance of Guy Brian's marriage to his second wife Elizabeth Montagu, widow of Hugh, Lord Despenser, is expressed on his tomb chest, which only displays the arms of Montagu impaling Brian, flanked by separate shields of Brian's arms on either side. The location of Brian's tomb is revealing of the affection in which he genuinely seems to have held his wife. She is buried with her first husband in the presbytery, directly north of the high altar. Despenser lies facing the choir and Elizabeth facing the ambulatory; Brian's tomb lies opposite Elizabeth, across the ambulatory, between two pillars separating the ambulatory and the chantry chapel founded by Brian, appropriated from rents from his Bristol properties, dedicated to the saying of masses for the souls of himself and his wife.[107]

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[105] For other brasses at Cobham, see, ibid., ch. 5.

[106] Ibid., pp.152-68.

[107] Lindley, 'The Later Medieval Monuments', p.167.

At Kirkham Priory William Ros, Lord Helmsley, also displayed his marriage connections with pride. William, second Lord Ros of Helmsley, incorporated an interesting programme of heraldic shields on the façade of the large and imposing gatehouse he erected at the priory in the early fourteenth century.[108] Ten shields are carved above the entrance of the gatehouse (Plate 31). On either side of the entrance to the gatehouse are displayed the arms of the founder of Kirkham Priory, Walter Espec and William's grandfather, another William who rebuilt much of the priory in the mid-thirteenth century.[109] Above these two shields, running in a line across the top of the gatehouse, appear four shields decorated with the arms of Clare, England, William Ros and his wife Maud, daughter of John Vaux (Plate 32). The pair of shields in the bottom left-hand corner of the gatehouse (below the shields of the founders) exhibits the marriage of Ros's daughter Margaret to Henry Scrope, chief justice of the King's Bench.[110] This display was more than just a matter paternal pride; Scrope occupied an important position at court and the Scropes were powerful neighbours of Ros and a rising family in Yorkshire society. The presentation of these arms suggests that William saw this as a prestigious match that confirmed the Ros family's status within provincial society. The arms to the right of this pair of arms are more ambiguous. The Ros arms appear again, this time paired with a *cross flory*. This may have referred to a marriage of another of Ros's daughters, but evidence is sparse.[111]

Other social ties are also displayed in the heraldry upon Reginald Cobham's tomb chest. The long sides of the tomb from head to foot display, on the north side, the arms of Cobham of Sterborough impaling Berkeley, for his marriage to Margaret; *or, a fess between 4 gemelles, gules* for Badlesmere; *azure, 3 water bougets, argent*, for Ros of Helmsley; and *azure, a cross fleury, with a martlet in the first quarter* for Walter Paveley. On the east side of the tomb are displayed the arms: *azure, three bars in chief, between 2 esquires based, 2 pales of the second* for Roger Mortimer, Earl of March; *azure, a bend argent cotised and six lions rampant, or*, for the arms of Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford. This shield is probably incorrect, a product of later restoration. For reasons that will become clear, it is more likely that these arms should be differenced with three mullets for William Bohun, Earl of Northampton (d.1360). The other two shields on this side are, *quarterly, gules and or, in the first quarter a mullet, argent* for John de Vere, Earl of Oxford; the other shield is *gules a lion rampant tail-forked or*, for Bartholomew, Lord Burghersh (d.1369).

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[108] Coppack, Harrison and Hayfield, 'Kirkham Priory', pp.105-8.

[109] See above, p.202.

[110] Lord Hawkesbury, 'The Heraldry on the Gateway at Kirkham Priory', *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society* 8 (1900): 1-9.

[111] Ibid., pp.5-7.

With the exception of the arms of Badlesmere, whose last lord in the male line was Giles Badlesmere (d.1338), the other men who are represented on this tomb all fought with Cobham in France on many occasions, and all were present on the Crécy-Calais campaign. The display of the shields of comrades in arms is a theme we will return to later, but, as Saul has shown, the presence of the first three arms on either side of Cobham's tomb chest related to shared tenurial ties. The first shield on the west side, displaying the marriage of Reginald Cobham, is in a slightly unusual position: we might have expected it to be located in pride of place at the head of the tomb, but it may be placed in the side of the tomb to represent the joint land holdings of husband and wife and its relationship to the other shields on that side of the tomb. The second shield on the west side represents the Badlesmere barony, which was one of the largest and most important land blocks in fourteenth-century Kent. Cobham was a tenant of the Badlesmere family and their heirs in the manors of Lullingstone and Hever in Kingsdown.[112] The last Lord Badlesmere, Giles, died in 1338 leaving four co-heiresses. One of these, Margery, married William Ros of Helmsley, and they inherited the Badlesmere *caput* of Chilham; thus the location of this shield next to Badlesmere shows the descent of the main line of the barony. The first three shields on the east side of the tomb also show the marriage ties of the Badlesmere heiresses: Roger Mortimer was Elizabeth Badlesmere's son; William Bohun was Elizabeth's second husband; and John de Vere was married to Maud, Elizabeth and Margery's sister.[113]

By displaying the shields of the great lords with whom Cobham had tenurial links, he shows how important these ties were in his self-image. The link between land tenure and affiliation, which his tomb chest proudly displays, can be seen in other heraldic schemes. For example, we have already noted that the Ros gatehouse at Kirkham Priory displayed a pair of shields with the arms of Clare and England.[114] The arms of Clare represent the Ros mesne lord for the lands around Kirkham at the time of the Gatehouse's construction, namely Gilbert, second Earl of Gloucesester. The arms of England may either represent Gilbert's wife Joan of Acre, daughter of Edward I, or they may denote Ros's tenurial status as a tenant-in-chief for other lands that he held of the crown. There is no doubt that the royal arms appeared in many heraldic series. Richard Marks has observed that in stained glass, the arms of the royal family often took pride of place in the east window.[115] However, it would be interesting to survey the prominence given to the arms of England in heraldic

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[112] Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*, p.161.

[113] Ibid., pp.162-3.

[114] Coppack, Harrison and Hayfield, 'Kirkham Priory', pp.105-8; see above p.223.

[115] R. Marks, *The Medieval Stained Glass of Northamptonshire* (Oxford, 1998), p.liv.

schemes commissioned by tenants-in-chief to see whether they were used in a different context.

The inclusion of the heirs of the Badlesmere family on Reginald Cobham's tomb chest raises important questions about the strength of the ties forged through tenure. Through the Badlesmere barony Cobham was connected to men whose main power bases lay far from Kent: Mortimer in the Welsh Marches, de Vere and Bohun in Essex, and Ros in North Yorkshire. Apart from the friendships these men may have made whilst on military service, their inclusion in the heraldic programme points towards how important Cobham felt these links were in defining his status and position in aristocratic society. Hierarchy seems all-important and Cobham was proud of his place within it. Association with members of the Kentish aristocracy was also emphasised. The last two shields on either side of the tomb represent Bartholomew Burghersh and Walter Paveley. Along with Cobham, both these men were knights of the Order of the Garter, a theme we will return to later; however, they were also near-neighbours. Burghersh's seat of power lay in Lincolnshire, but he also had large estates in Kent. Pavely owned the manor of Chiddingstone, only a few miles from Sterborough, making him a very close neighbour of Cobham.[116] Burghersh was also related to Paveley, whose mother Maude was Burghersh's cousin.[117]

The display of one's neighbours' shields in heraldic schemes was a common theme, particularly in the stained glass of religious buildings. For example, the windows in the choir of Tewkesbury Abbey, commissioned by the Despenser family in the 1340s, included a series of shields in the base panels of each light. Only four of these panels now survive, but there may have been up to thirty-three originally.[118] A description of these shields made in 1623 records that they represented a combination of the arms of the royal family; families that had marriage ties with the Despensers, with particular prominence given to prestigious marriages into the Clare and Berkeley families; and there were also several shields of the local aristocracy of the Western Borders.[119] The inclusion of the shields of families of national and local importance seems to have been a common scheme in the glass of abbey churches and parish churches alike, although the poor survival of glass means that we cannot quantify this assertion. Nigel Saul's study of Etchingham parish church, Sussex, reveals that at the time the church was enlarged in 1351 the windows on three sides of the building were

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[116] Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*, p.160.

[117] Ibid.

[118] S. Brown, 'The Medieval Stained Glass', in Morris and Shoesmith (eds.), *Tewkesbury Abbey*, p.188.

[119] Ibid., pp.188-9.

installed and decorated with a series of heraldic shields.[120] As at Tewkesbury these shields displayed the arms of members of the royal family, the titled nobility and the shields of local Sussex aristocratic families, with many of whom the Etchinghams had formed marriage ties. There was a clear hierarchy in the positioning of the shields. The arms of the royal family and titled nobility were located in the east window, the most prestigious part of any religious building, whereas the Sussex families took their place in the north and south windows. Peter Newton has brought our attention to the similarities between armorial glass and heraldic rolls, particularly apparent in the rigid hierarchy present in the ordering of shields.[121] Viewed in this way the armorial series at Tewkesbury resemble a combination of a local and a general roll of arms.[122]

These heraldic schemes did not always celebrate the active ties between local families. We see a variant of this theme in the great east window commissioned by Thomas Erpingham (d.1419) for the church of the Austin Friars in Norwich. This window has since been destroyed, but William of Worcester left an account of it in 1461. Worcester wrote that this window contained the arms of 'lords, barons, bannerets and knights who had died without issue male in Norfolk and Suffolk since the coronation of Edward III'; in total eighty-seven families were commemorated.[123] On a psychological level it is easy to understand why Erpingham would wish to commission this window: he had married twice, but without issue. He must have been keenly aware that without an heir the fame of his family, and families in a similar predicament in his part of the world, might die out if they were not remembered in perpetuity in the window. This window also shows the empathy that Erpingham had with his neighbours. He probably knew all their shields and felt himself an integral part of that community. It is noticeable that Worcester was able to remember another 29 knights and 25 esquires who had died without issue between the window's installation in the early fifteenth century and his own account in 1461,[124] suggesting that the aristocracy of this region had a strong sense of shared identity and shared history.

As has already been alluded to, the men included on the east and west sides of Reginald Cobham's tomb chest, apart from Badlesmere, all shared in the military adventures

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[120] N. Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex, 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986), ch. 5.

[121] Newton, 'Schools of Glass Painting', pp.137-46.

[122] An early example of a local roll of arms is the Dering Roll of circa 1275, which consists mainly of Kent and Sussex arms. General rolls of arms are the most common series of rolls, they have a varied content, but they are always ordered in a strict hierarchy, with Prester John often heading the list and followed by emperors, kings, titled nobility and knights. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, pp.50-1.

[123] McFarlane, *Nobility*, pp.145-6.

[124] Ibid., p.146.

of Edward III's reign. The arms of the head of the main line of the Cobhams, John III, represented at the head of the tomb, and the final two shields at the foot of the tomb, add a strong martial theme to the heraldic scheme: *azure, three roses or* for Stephen Cossington and *paly wavy, or and gules, in a bordure ermine* for Waresius Valonges. Both of these men were regular retainers of Cobham and hailed from Kent.[125] Of the men represented by shields on the east and west sides of the tomb chest, Roger Mortimer, Bartholomew Burghersh, John Chandos and Walter Paveley were all founder Knights of the Garter in 1348; William Bohun joined Reginald Cobham in the Garter stalls in 1349. Moreover, all of the men represented on Reginald's tomb were present on the Crécy-Calais campaign of 1346-7. There is no doubt that this campaign was an event which defined a generation of the military community. The psychological impact of serving on this campaign cannot be underestimated: it must have seemed a miracle that the power of France was laid low by a country with such limited resources as England: it was an 'I was there' moment.

Although there are no other monuments to the members of our sample that commemorate this event, other memorials erected by veterans of this campaign suggest that several celebrated their participation and those who fought there with them. The most famous memorial of this campaign is the brass commemorating Hugh Hastings (d.1347) at Elsing in Norfolk (Plate 33). As is well known, the eight canopied 'weepers' resplendent in their armour and heraldic jupons represented senior members of the nobility present at the siege of Calais.[126] In a similar vein the great east window at Gloucester Cathedral, which was probably installed between 1350 and 1360, contains a series of heraldic shields (Plate 34). Although some of the shields have been lost and replaced by later additions that have little bearing on the original scheme, the arms of Edward III and of Edward Prince of Wales, eight members of the titled nobility, three barons and one knight, still remain, although the position of these shields may have altered over time.[127] The unifying factor in this heraldic scheme is that those persons whose arms are represented in the window were all present at

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[125] Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*, pp.163-8.

[126] Although some of the 'weepers' have now been lost the brass originally contained the images of Edward III (d.1377); Edward, Prince of Wales (d.1376); Henry Grosmont, Earl of Lancaster (d.1361); Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1369); Laurence Hastings, Earl of Pembroke (d.1348); Edward, Lord Despenser (d.1375); Almeric, Lord St. Amand (d.1381); Ralph, Lord Stafford (d.1372); John, Lord Grey of Ruthin (d.1359). Alexander and Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry*, no.678.

[127] The original shields still located in the east window are Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (d.1376); Thomas, Lord Berkeley (d.1361), Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1369); William Bohun, Earl of Northampton (d.1360); Laurence Hastings, Earl of Pembroke (d.1348); Richard Talbot (d.1356); Maurice Berkeley of Uley (d.1347) and Thomas, Lord Bradestone (d.1360). J. Kerr, 'The East Window of Gloucester Cathedral', *The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions VII: Medieval Art and Architecture at Gloucester and Tewkesbury* (1985 for 1981), p.125; D. Welander, *The Stained Glass of Gloucester Cathedral* (Gloucester, 1993), pp.19-24.

the siege of Calais.[128] Apart from the presence of the royal family and titled nobility, the barons and knights represented in the window include Richard Talbot, steward of the king's household in 1346-7, and Gloucestershire men who took part in the glorious campaigns of 1346-7: Thomas, Lord Berkeley, Thomas, Lord Bradestone and Maurice Berkeley of Uley. Thomas, Lord Berkeley was a close neighbour of Thomas Bradestone and was also often his companion of arms in the wars in Scotland and France. The inclusion of Maurice Berkeley of Uley is instructive:[129] he was not particularly noticeable in terms of wealth or political power, but his presence is probably explained by his relationship with Bradestone who was his tenurial overlord; both men regularly gave military service in France and were perhaps even brothers in arms.[130] T. D. Grimké-Drayton suggested that Bradestone may have commissioned the window, as his shield appears in the so-called 'donor position'; however, Jill Kerr has pointed out that Bradestone's arms may not have always occupied this position and that the expense of glazing such a large area would have been borne by a royal or more than one donor.[131] It is possible that the Gloucestershire men represented in the heraldic scheme all contributed to the financing of the window, perhaps to give thanks to God for their military successes.

The heraldic schemes on the tomb chests of the men of our sample displayed three main themes linked to how they placed themselves within the social hierarchy: ties of kinship, ties of tenure or retaining, and associations forged through military service. The image of the knight and the articulation of affiliations through heraldry were powerful tools in expressing power and claims to lordship. These messages were amplified by the accumulation of sepulchral monuments in family mausolea and the use of space within religious buildings, particularly the area in and around the choir. Sometimes these claims to lordship had a highly political edge, and this is no better demonstrated than in the case of the Despenser family at Tewkesbury Abbey.

In the late thirteenth century Tewkesbury Abbey was already established as a mausoleum for the Clare earls of Gloucester; the sepulchral effigies of four successive earls were located in the choir in front of the altar.[132] These effigies are no longer extant, but as the first Clares represented were Gilbert, fourth Earl of Gloucester (d.1230) and Richard, fifth Earl (d.1262), it would be sensible to suggest that a later earl had erected these two

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[128] Kerr, 'East Window', p.125.

[129] He was the father of the Thomas Berkeley who took part in the 1359-60 campaign, who was obviously following a family tradition of martial service.

[130] Kerr, 'East Window', p.126.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Lindley, 'Later Medieval Monuments', pp.161-3.

monuments to emphasise the longevity of his family's rule. The last two tombs belonging to the Clare line were those of Gilbert, seventh Earl of Gloucester, who was killed at Bannockburn (1314), and his wife Marie (d.1320). The marriage of Hugh Despenser the Younger to Eleanor Clare, eldest of the Clare co-heiresses, brought the lordship of Tewkesbury into his hands. One of Despenser's first acts was to carry out a massive rebuilding programme at Tewkesbury to enlarge the east end of the abbey. The fall of Hugh Despenser did not bring an end to this ambitious scheme. His wife and son Hugh, the third, continued the building works, creating a spacious ambulatory around the presbytery with a series of chevet chapels and a large Lady Chapel radiating off the ambulatory.[133] The extension of the east end was completed in the late 1340s. The main reason for the creation of a large space around the presbytery was to create a prominent burial space for the Despenser family.

One cannot help but notice the similarities between the way that Henry III and Edward I created a burial space for the Plantagenets at Westminster and what the Despensers did at Tewkesbury (Plates 7 and 8). The first tombs to be installed in the presbytery were those commemorating Hugh (d.1349) and his wife Elizabeth Montagu (d.1359), in a double tomb in the space usually reserved for the patron, immediately to the north of the altar, and the tomb of Hugh Despenser the Younger (d.1326) which occupied the space to the south of the altar. The Trinity Chapel of Edward Despenser (d.1375), the third Despenser Lord of Tewkesbury, lies to the left of Hugh the Younger's monument. As we noted earlier, the Trinity Chapel had a dual function as a place for the saying of masses and as a monument to Edward.[134] Into the fifteenth century successive generations of Despensers found space for their burials in front of the older monuments of the Clare family in the choir, until the lordship of Tewkesbury passed into the hands of the Beauchamp family. The sepulchral monuments of the first three Despenser lords of Tewkesbury were all lavishly decorated and can be seen from the ambulatory, an important space in any religious building, that forms the centre of processional rituals, thus locating them in a very public space; indeed the tomb of Hugh Despenser the younger looks entirely into the ambulatory, with its back to the altar.

During the extension of the east end a series of stained glass windows was installed in the late 1330s or early 1340s, flanking the north and south of the choir and towering over the now missing Clare effigies. In the four lancets of each window appear images of individual knights bearing the heraldic arms of the lords of Tewkesbury: from the original founder of the abbey Robert Fitzhamon, to Robert Fitzroy (who was responsible for much of the building of the old Norman abbey), the four Clare earls of Gloucester, Hugh Despenser

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[133]R. K. Morris and M. Thurlby, 'The Gothic Church: Architectural History', in Morris and Shoesmith (eds.), *Tewkesbury Abbey*, pp.117-8.

[134] See above p.215-6.

the Younger and William de la Zouche, Eleanor's second husband (Plates 35 and 36).[135] The prominent Despenser monuments around the presbytery and the iconography of stained glass evoke a powerful message. Its central theme is continuity: a seamless transition from Clare lordship to that of Despenser. The cumulative effect was to create a visual chronicle of the lordship of Tewkesbury which illustrated the right of the Despensers to be considered heirs of the Clare family. This scheme emphasises descent, genealogy and hereditary right, which were important issues for all members of the late medieval aristocracy. This also had very political connotations. A Glamorganshire chronicler asserted that Hugh the Younger coveted the title of the Earl of Gloucester. His fall came before he could secure this title, but it seems to have been a burning ambition of the Despenser family to secure this right as the heirs of Clare; Thomas Despenser finally achieved this, however briefly, in 1397. There is little doubt that the iconography which the Despensers created with their building works and sepulchral monuments visually articulated this claim.

At Tewkesbury Abbey we have a perfect example of how religious spaces could be invaded by secular images to project issues associated with power and claims to lordship. Increasingly the same methods were being used by other aristocrats the length and breadth of England and Wales to communicate similar messages. Each individual family may have taken a different approach, but the same symbols of power were used: sepulchral monuments, the image of the knight and heraldry. In most cases the family chantry chapel served a dual purpose, for the saying of masses to benefit the souls of members of the family and their allies and as an expression of a family's claim to lordship.

Families without the financial resources of the Despensers turned to the parish church nearest to their caput to express their own, more local, claims to lordship. We have already noted how the families of Fitzalan of Bedale, Fitzwilliam, Vavasour and Poynings, all carried out rebuilding programmes in association with the founding of chantries and to provide a suitable surrounding for their sepulchral monuments. The fourteenth century was a great period in the rebuilding of parish churches in order to house the mausolea of the provincial aristocracy. The Marmion chantry at St. Nicholas' parish church in West Tanfield, Yorkshire, provides an excellent example.

In the north aisle of the church lie the effigies of four ladies and five knights representing the leading members of the Marmion family between 1335 and the death of John, the last Marmion Lord of West Tanfield, in 1387.[136] This area of the church originally housed a chantry chapel for which three separate chantry foundations were made between

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[135] Brown, 'The Medieval Stained Glass', pp.187-90; Martindale, 'Patrons and Minders', pp.160-3.

[136] Gittos and Gittos, 'Motivation and Choice', p.163.

1340 and 1364.[137] It is unlikely that most of these monuments are *in situ*, although they were probably located in or around the chantry chapel. At least two of the monuments can be directly associated with chantry foundations. The effigy of John Marmion (d.1335), is situated within a large canopied recess: shortly after his death his widow Maud Furnival established a chantry, presumably for the singing of masses for his soul. Maud died in 1360, but in 1362 a second chantry was founded at West Tanfield for the souls of John Marmion, Maud his wife and their heirs: this foundation may well have been a provision of her will. The effigy of a lady that now lies beside John Marmion's (d.1335) dates from the 1360s and can be considered as belonging to Maud (Plate 37).[138] A third monument belonging to Avice Marmion (d. after 1378/9), wife of John Grey of Rotherfield, may also be associated with the chantry she founded in 1364 for the founder and all Christian souls. The series of monuments is completed by the fine alabaster tomb attributed to John Marmion (d.1387) and his wife. These monuments chronicle the descent of the Marmion lordship at West Tanfield in the fourteenth century, affirming their pedigree and right to lordship; the Gittos have noted that this may have been a particular concern for the Marmions due to the constant threat of the extinction of the family line during this period.[139] Peter Coss believes that the appearance of monumental effigies in churches is representative of the importance that the knightly caste placed on a particular locality.[140] This certainly seems to be the case at West Tanfield: the gatehouse of the Marmions' manor house, which has now disappeared, is situated next to the entrance to the church (Plate 38). Thus, the family has a temporal *caput* at the manor house and a spiritual *caput* at St. Nicholas' church.

Conclusion

It is impossible to separate the sepulchral monuments of the men of our sample from the social conditions in which they were created. These monuments are revealing in that they reflect how the men saw themselves as a social group; their effigies are not portraits of the individuals commemorated: they are symbolic representations, and without exception these men are represented in the standard image of a knight, identified as individuals only by their heraldic arms. In death all of these men wished to be distinguished by their role as a warrior elite in the armour which they would have rarely worn in life, and thus publicly advertise their social status. The difference between their effigies lies more in their architectural

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[137] H. B. McCall, *Richmondshire Churches* (London, 1910), pp.188-9; Cook, *Mediaeval Chantries*, pp.218-9; *VCH, North Riding*, 3 vols., 1:387-9.

[138] Gittos and Gitttos, 'Motivation and Choice', p.165.

[139] Ibid., p.167.

[140] Coss, *The Knight in England*, pp.72-3.

surroundings than the basic image: status is revealed more in the expense of the monument as a whole than the design of the effigy itself. For example, Nicholas Louvyene's effigy and tomb chest cost £17 6s. 8d, whereas the double tomb to John of Gaunt and his wife, situated in a large and intricately carved canopy (described by a contemporary as a '*sepultra incomparabile*') cost somewhere in the region of £500 (Plate 39).[141] Louvyene may have been a household banneret and Gaunt the most powerful noble in the late fourteenth century, and titular king of Spain, but the armigerous image represented in the sepulchral monuments of these two men in death was the same. In the study of the careers and marriage patterns of the men of our sample, it was hard not to notice that differences in wealth and rank created social divisions, but the utilisation of the knight effigy in sepulchral monuments suggests a greater degree of social solidarity, forged through a shared culture of chivalry.

The knight effigy was one way in which chivalric culture permeated the representation of the men of our sample; another was the symbolic use of heraldry, both in sepulchral monuments and in other media within religious buildings. One of the abiding impressions given by the heraldic schemes of our men is the importance in establishing one's *degree*. Their place within the social hierarchy was paramount. This was achieved firstly by stressing lineage, a prerequisite of aristocracy. Family ties were articulated either through pictorial representation of 'weepers' identified by their accompanying armorials, or through heraldic shields alone, on many of the surviving tomb chests of our sample. Another way to indicate one's position in society was to emphasise tenurial ties. Including the arms of one's overlord in heraldic schemes not only brought prestige through association to the greatest men in the realm, it also affirmed the right of an individual to the lands they held. This right to lordship was also expressed through the accumulation of sepulchral monuments in family mausolea. The commissioning of monuments representing the heads of each successive generation visually chronicled the descent of a lordship in the spiritual hub of one's landholdings, and also gave an impression of the continuity and longevity of a particular family. Associations with other aristocratic families who owned land in a particular area also helped in establishing identity, showing that an individual or family was part of a local social network based on landholding.

Another important theme in the heraldic schemes commissioned by the members of our sample was their focus on military service. The inclusion of the armorials of fellow companions in arms on Reginald Cobham's tomb chest, the Elsing brass and the east window at Gloucester Cathedral highlight the importance of military achievement in the forging of identity amongst these men. They indicate not only their pride in militaristic achievement, but also recognise that the membership of the chivalric community was indicative of one's social status in the wider world. It is no coincidence that the heraldic

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[141] For Louveyne, see above, p.215; For Gaunt's tomb see, Duffy, *Royal Tombs*, pp.159-60.

banners these men took on campaign defined their self-image in times of peace. For them their position as a landed, political and social elite was inseparable from their position as a military elite. By articulating in death whom they had been in life, self-perception was seen through the prism of chivalric culture.

Conclusion

In the first part of this thesis we asked whether the members of our two samples of military elites could be considered as forming a distinct community within medieval society, through their shared career patterns in military service, political action and royal office-holding, and through endogamous marriages. It is difficult to prove the existence of this putative community through statistical analysis alone. However, remarkably similar career patterns certainly emerged for those who attained knightly rank or above. This was particularly apparent in the study of the first sample group, selected from the knights and bannerets listed in the *Song of Caerlaverock*. There is little doubt that these men saw themselves as a military and political elite during the reigns of Edward I and Edward II. They regularly gave military service to the crown in the wars in Scotland and it was also to these men that Edward I turned to form his council and the political elite in parliament through their individual summonses as Lords of the Realm. Their dual roles as military and political elites forged a strong feeling of collective identity. This feeling of being men apart is also reflected in their marriage patterns. No fewer than 32 members of the 1300 sample had married the daughters or sisters of other men present on that campaign and over half of those members of the sample whose wives' pedigree can be traced married women whose fathers were of comital or baronial rank. This high incidence of endogamy was likely to have been a result of an attempt to maintain the collective interests of the members of our sample. The agglomeration of lands and the importance of securing social and political networks through marriage was the key determinant in the choice of marriage partner for the members of this community.

A similar pattern can be seen with those who attained the rank of knight or above from the 1359-60 sample. These men also provided regular military service and were essential to the raising of royal armies through indentures. Moreover, a third of this sample were given the opportunity to sit in parliament as members of the House of Lords or knights of the shire; and dominated the judicial administration of the areas in which they held lands through their appointment of justices of the peace. Although the number of men achieving baronial rank from the 1359-60 sample was much smaller than that of the 1300 sample, a similar pattern of endogamous marriage emerges. Ten out of the 17 men whose wives' pedigree could be traced married into comital or baronial families, with four of the remaining seven men marrying substantial heiresses from families who had not attained similar rank. But for those members of the sample below the rank of knight a less clear picture of community is apparent. It can be reasonably stated that through their military service and through judicial and administrative office-holding they were as much a part of the military and political elite as those of superior rank. However, the endogamous marriage

patterns of those of knightly rank and above tended to preclude those of a lesser status. This is not to say that they were totally excluded from this aspect of community: baronial and knightly ranks recruited from below as well as from within. Through military and political service to the crown lesser landowners were able to improve their social status and access high-status marriage networks. The cases of Ralph Stafford and Guy Brian's second marriages show how social promotion was mirrored in their marriage to wives of superior wealth and status.[1] Esquires were still considered part of the chivalrous community and it was much easier for them to access the knightly ranks than members of other social groups, such as merchants – despite such celebrated cases as the de la Poles.

The sense of difference between this community and other groups is also apparent in their shared culture. Many of the collective interests of this community, which were forged through their domination of military and political offices and their position as major land owners, can also be seen in the values of chivalry. Chivalry was much more than just a martial cult. The importance of good birth is apparent in the idea of *franchise.* The values of *courtoisie* and *largesse* were also intended to display the differences between the noble-born and the rest through the way a man bore himself in public and treated others. Moreover, chivalric theorists such as Ramon Llull pointed towards the importance of the political role of the chivalric knight in imposing social control over the rest of the populace:

> kynges & prynces which make prouostes & baillyes of other persones than of knytzes done ayenst thoffyce of chyualry / for the knytz is more worthy to haue the seygnorye ouer the peple / than ony other man that hath not honourable offyce.[2]

But above all, chivalry gloried in the idea of the noble warrior whose position as a skilled cavalryman marked him out from other sections of society. So central was this idea to the culture of this community that even when the massed cavalry charge became obsolete in battlefield tactics and the role of the great warhorse in battle declined, equestrian skills remained an important cultural requirement for the members of our community. This can be clearly seen in the significance given to the tournament during the reign of Edward III. From the 1330s onwards the tournament was not so much an event crucial to the training of the cavalryman for war, but rather a socially affirming occasion where the community could emphasise its superiority to other social groups both through their martial skills and the superior wealth that was required to arm oneself in tournament armour and show off the quality of one's tournament mount. Furthermore, the chroniclers of chivalry also regularly mentioned the small skirmishes between mounted troops that occurred in the wars in Scotland and France during the fourteenth century. This was not necessarily because these

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[1] For Stafford, see above, pp.120-1; and Brian, above, pp.135-6.

[2] Llull, *Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry*, p.29.

skirmishes were militarily important, but because they showed passages of arms being carried out in the way that chivalry demanded – with great valour, at close quarters and a high degree of individualistic skill. This was bound to appeal to the chroniclers' aristocratic audience who saw these skirmishes as a noble form of combat.

The symbols of the elite warrior also played an important role in forming collective, family and individual identities amongst this community. For example, heraldry in its early stages merely displayed a man's martial status. The right to bear arms indicated that this man was an elite warrior who was distinguished from other members of the army by his martial ability and role as a mounted warrior. However, by the late thirteenth century heraldry was used to convey messages of social importance which had relevance far from the battlefield or tournament ground. Heraldry was used as decoration to denote an individual's right to territorial lordship as the descendant of previous territorial lords. It was also used to advertise marriage ties, either through the impaling or quartering of arms with those of other families, or through the marshalling of arms in decoration on a wide range of artistic media.

The element of ancestry in the display of heraldry was all-important. As Wagner has said, heraldry is not heraldry 'without the element of inheritance'.[3] The further back a family could trace its roots, then the more secure were their claims both to the right to lordship and noble status. Some of the more exalted members of the community attempted to push their lineage back to the dawn of chivalry by associating their families with the legendary heroes of romance literature. Families such as the Tonys, Bohuns and Beauchamps exhibited their descent from the legendary Swan Knight through the use of the symbol of the swan in decoration of seals and *objets d'art.* Moreover, the Beauchamp family had their own hero of chivalry associated with their earldom: the legend of Guy of Warwick was flaunted through decoration in their personal possessions, in the naming of 'Guy's Tower' at Warwick Castle and in the family nomenclature. These families were expressing their difference from other families of similar rank through their glamorous ancestry and the longevity of their line.

The image of the armed warrior was also widely used by the members of the community in their sepulchral monuments to emphasise their position as social elites rather than as military elites. In knight effigies and brasses the members of our community were not communicating that their careers were defined by military service (although this could often be the case), but rather they were emphasising their status as territorial lords. These images were used to display an individual's membership of chivalric society which was directly equated with being of superior status. However, the visual evidence for chivalric

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[3] A. R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages: An Inquiry into the Growth of the Armorial Functions of Heralds.* 2nd edn. (London, 1956), p.12.

culture is fragmentary. It is limited to those who attained the rank of knighthood and, therefore, it may be unrepresentative. It is difficult to determine, for example, whether the commissioning of knight effigies during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was restricted to those who had attained knighthood, or whether the members of our sample below that status could not afford to commission these monuments.

In conclusion, by considering chivalry as the dominant culture amongst a community of military, political and social elites we are able to gain a different perspective on chivalry; more so than if we were to concentrate on the literature of chivalric culture alone. Firstly, it is important to recognise that chivalry was inseparable from the collective interests and aspirations of the community which shaped this culture. Chivalry was more than just a martial code or a militaristic cult: it also incorporated the social concerns and social values of the community. Some of the social assumptions and mores of this community were inherited from previous generations, and the social milieu in which members of the community were brought up meant that some of the basic values of chivalry were held to be immutable, and gave a coherent strain to chivalry throughout the Middle Ages. However, because of various changes over time, including the composition of the community, changes in social mores, and changes in technology, chivalry was also able to alter and evolve with each successive generation. It was apparent during this study that there were subtle changes in the career patterns and cultural practice of the 1300 sample as compared to the 1359-60 sample. This of course was most apparent in the threat that changes in battlefield tactics and in the composition of armies posed to the community's identity as elite mounted warriors. Considered from this standpoint, the idea that chivalry declined in the later Middle Ages becomes less tenable. Chivalry did not decline: it merely transformed itself from its earlier manifestations. If there was a decline of chivalry, it only occurred when the community of social elite relinquished their position as military elite, thus making the martial values of chivalry less socially relevant.[4]

The second main benefit of studying chivalry as the dominant culture of an elite community is that, through the material culture that this community left behind, we can see the importance of chivalry in the creation of the individual and collective identities of this group. For example, we can see how the symbols of chivalry, such as heraldry and the image of the mounted warrior, were adopted by this community and were used to express a wide range of social messages. If we were to push the methodology of this thesis forward in time we would be able to chart the 'progress' of chivalric culture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Through an holistic study of the usage of heraldry amongst the aristocracy, high-status sepulchral monuments and the importance of chivalry in forming

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[4] For the 'decline of chivalry', see above, pp.12-5.

collective and family identities during this period, we should be able to learn more about how chivalric culture changed over time and also how the idea of aristocracy developed into the early modern period.[5]

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[5] Maurice Keen's *Origins of the English Gentleman*, has recently charted the emergence of the elusive gentry through primarily focusing upon the evidence in the changing use of heraldry in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The study of the development of sepulchral monuments in conjunction with the evidence of heraldic practices could also shed a great deal of light on this subject. This approach would also be revealing of the social practices of other members of the aristocracy such as the titled nobility or the baronage.

Appendix I

Members of the Sample Groups

Dates of death included where known.

Knights and Bannerets Named in the Song of Caerlaverock (1300 sample)

Albret, Amanieu (d.1326)
Baddlesmere, Bartholomew (d.1332)
Balliol, Alexander (d.1311)
Bar, Jean de, Count of Leon (d.1317)
Bardolf, Hugh (d.1304)
Basset, Edmund (d.1311)
Basset, John (d.1330)
Beauchamp, Guy, Earl of Warwick (d.1315)
Beauchamp, John of Somerset (d.1336)
Beauchamp, Walter (d.1303)
Berkeley, Maurice (d.1326)
Bohun, Humphrey, Earl of Hereford & Essex(d.1322)
Botetourt, John (d.1324)
Brittany, John of, Earl of Richmond (d.1334)
Carew, Nicholas (d.1311)
Cauntilupe, William (d.1308)
Clavering, John (d.1332)
Clifford, Robert (d.1314)
Courtnay, Hugh, Earl of Devon (d.1340)
Craon, Maurice
Creeting, John (d.1333x1334)
Cromwell, John (d.1335)
D'Aubeney, Elias (d.1305)
Deyncourt, John (d.1322)
Despenser, Hugh (d.1326)
Dunbar, Patrick, Earl of (d.1308)
Dunbar, Patrick, Earl of (d.1368)
Engaine, John (d.1322)
Ferrers, William (d.1325)
Fitzalan, Brian (d.1306)
Fitzalan, Richard, Earl of Arundel (d.1302)
Fitzmarmaduke, John (d.1310)
Fitzpayn, Robert (d.1315)
Fitzroger, Robert (d.1310)
Fitzwalter, Robert (d.1326)
Fitzwilliam, Ralph (d.1317)
Ford, Adam de la (d.1319)
Fraser, Simon (d.1306?)
Furnival, Thomas (d.1332)
Gondreville, Gerard
Gorges, Ralph (d.1323)
Graham, Henry
Grandison, William (d.1335)
Grey, Henry (d.1308)
Grey, John (d.1323)
Hansard, Robert (d.1306)
Hastings, Edmund (d.1314)
Hastings, John (d.1313)

Hatch, Eustace (d.1306)
Huddleston, John (d.1316)
Huntercombe, Walter (d.1313)
Kirkbride, Richard (d.1330)
Kyme, Phillip (d.1323)
Lacy, Henry, Earl of Lincoln (d.1311)
Lancaster, Henry, Earl of (d.1345)
Lancaster John of (d.1334)
Lancaster, Thomas, Earl of (d.1322)
Latimer, William (d.1304)
Lestraunge, John (d.1309)
Leybourne, William (d.1310)
Mare, John de la (d.1313)
Marshal, William (d.1314)
Mohaut, Robert (d.1329)
Mohun, John (d.1330)
Montagu, Simon (d.1316)
Montbourcher, Bertrand (d.1332)
Monthemer, Ralph, Earl of Gloucester (d.1325)
Morteyn, Roger (d. c.1325)
Mortimer, Hugh (d.1304)
Mortimer, Roger, of Chirk (d.1326)
Mouncy, Walter (d.1309)
Multon, Thomas (d.1322)
Paynel, John (d.1318)
Percy, Henry (d.1314)
Poyntz, Hugh (d.1308)
Richmond, Thomas (d.1317)
Rivers, John (d. c.1322)
Rokley, Richard de la (d.1322)
Ros, William (d.1316)
Ryther, William
St. Amand, Amaury (d.1310)
St.John, John (d.1302)
St.John, John (d.1329)
Scales, Robert (d.1305)
Segrave, John (d.1325)
Segrave, Nicholas (d.1321)
Siward, Richard
Tattershall, Robert (d.1303)
Tony, Robert (d.1309)
Tuchet, William (d.1322)
Tyes, Henry (d.1307)
Valence, Aymer, Earl of Pembroke (d.1324)
Vavasour, William (d.1313)
Vere, Hugh de (d.1319)
Ward, Robert de la (d.1307)
Ware, Roger de la (d.1320)
Warenne, John, Earl of Surrey (d.1304)
Well, Adam (d.1311)
Wigton, John (d.1315)
Willoughby, Robert (d.1317)
Zouche, Alan la (d.1314)

Captains Receiving *Restauro Equorum* for the 1359-60 Campaign (1359-60 Sample)

Alby, Robert
Antwerp, Lionel of, Earl of Clarence (d.1368)
Archer, Roger
Ask, Richard
Bassett, Ralph, of Drayton (d.1390)
Baude, William (d.1376)
Beauchamp, John, of Holt snr.
Beauchamp, John, of Holt jnr. (d. 1388)
Beauchamp, John, of Warwick (d.1360)
Beauchamp, Thomas, Earl of Warwick (d.1369)
Beauchamp, Thomas, Earl of Warwick (d.1401)
Beaumont, Henry (1369)
Beer, John
Berkeley, Thomas, of Uley (d.1361)
Bluet, John
Bohun, William, Earl of Northampton (d.1360)
Breux, Peter
Brian, Guy (d.1390)
Burnell, Nicholas (d.1382)
Chamberlain, Thomas
Chandos, John (d.1370)
Cherleton, John, of Powys (d.1360)
Chirby, John
Cobham, John (d.1408)
Cobham, Reginald, of Sterborough (d.1361)
Condon, Walter
Corby, Robert (d.1365)
Crook, John
Danvers, William
Despenser, Edward (d.1375)
Dichford, James
Edenstowe, Thomas
Eddington, John (d.1367)
Elleford, John
Ellerton, John
Elmrugg, Roger (d.1375)
Erhuth, Robert
Eton, Thomas
Gaunt, John of, Duke of Lancaster (d.1399)
Grey, Henry (d.1395)
Grey, Reginald (d.1388)
Grosmont, Henry of, Duke of Lancaster (d.1361)
Haddon, John
Hale, Frank
Hamelton, John
Hampton, Roger
Herling, John (d.1382)
Hoggshawe, Thomas
Huntingdon, Richard
Immworth, Richard (d.1381)
Jolif, Roger
Kendale, Edward (d.1373)
Kingston, John
Kingston, Thomas

Kyriel, John (d.1370)
Langley, Edmund of, Duke of York (d.1402)
Leget, Helmyng
Lestraunge, John
Louvaigne, Nicholas
Lovetoft, Edward (d.1369)
Lovetoft, John (d.1404)
Mahfield, Robert
March, Robert de la
Marmion, John (d.1387)
Mayn, John
Moigne, Thomas (d.1363)
Montagu, William, Earl of Salisbury (d.1397)
Mortimer, Roger, Earl of March (d.1360)
Mussenden, Thomas
Pace, Richard
Pembridge, Richard (d.1375)
Percy, Henry (d.1368)
Perton, Leo (d. c.1370)
Peterouth, William
Pommers, Amineu
Potenhale, John (d.1361)
Potenhale, Richard
Poynings, Michael (d.1369)
Riscby, William
St. Amand, Almeric (d.1381)
St. John, Edward (d.1385)
Siward, Richard
Seern, Edward
Stafford, Ralph, Earl of (d.1372)
Styvecle, Geoffery
Swynnerton, Thomas
Tatton, Richard
Thornton, Thomas
Ufford, Robert, Earl of Suffolk (d.1369)
Ughtred, Thomas (d.1365)
Vache, Richard de la
Warwick, Guy of (d.1360)
Younge, John
Zouche, William la, of Harringworth (d.1382)

Appendix II

Military Service Records (1300 Sample)

Parentheses indicate the source material used to compile military service and correspond to the list of sources at the end of this table.

Amanieu Albret	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – Captain Retinue: 2 Knights 8 Esquires (vadia)
Bartholomew Badlesmere	1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – Royal Household Retinue: 4 Esquires (vadia)
Alexander Balliol	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – Captain Retinue: 1 Knight 10 Esquires (vadia)
Jean of Bar	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Hugh Bardolf	1298 – (Falkirk & restauro eqrorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling)
Edmund Baset	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
John Basset	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick	1296 – Captain 3 others in retinue had horse valuations (horse inventory) 1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
John Beauchamp of Hatch	1296 – Captain 2 others in retinue had horse valuations (horse inventory) 1298 – Captain 11 others in retinue claimed Restauro (Falkirk & restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling)

Walter Beauchamp	1296 – Royal Household 11 others in retinue had horse valuations (horse inventory) 1298 – Royal Household 25 others in retinue claimed Restauro (Falkirk & restauro equorum) 1300 – Royal Household Retinue: 2 Knights 12 Esquires (vadia)
Maurice Berkeley	1298 – (Falkirk & restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling) 1314 – (protection)
Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford	1296 – Captain 3 others in retinue had horse valuations (horse inventory) 1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling) 1314 – (protection)
John Botetourt	1298 – Royal Household 16 other in retinue claimed restauro (Falkirk & restauro equorum) 1300 – Royal Household Retinue: 1 Knight 7 Esquires (vadia) 1304 – Keeper of Western March Retinue: 12 Knights 21 Esquires (vadia)
John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Nicholas Carew	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
William Cantilupe	1298 – Royal Household 11 others in retinue claimed restauro (Falkirk & restauro equorum) 1300 – Royal Household Retinue: 2 Knights 8 Esquires (vadia)

John Clavering	1298 – (Falkirk & restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Robert Clifford	1296 – Captain 13 others in retinue had horse valuations (horse inventory)
Robert Clifford (Cont.)	1298 – Royal Household 34 others in retinue claimed restauro (restauro equorum) 1300 – Royal Household Retinue: 2 Knights 16 Esquires 1304 – Captain Retinue: 4 Knights 15 Esquires (vadia)
Hugh Courtenay	1298 – Captain 11 others in retinue claimed restauro (restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Maurice Craon	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
John Creeting	1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1314 – (protection)
John Cromwell	1298 – Knight in Clifford's retinue (restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling) 1314 – (E404/482)
Elias Daubenay	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
John Deyncourt	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Hugh Despenser	1296 – Captain 29 others in retinue had horse valuations (horse inventory) 1298 – Captain 54 others in retinue claimed Restauro (restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Patrick, Earl of Dunbar snr.	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)

Patrick, Earl of Dunbar jnr.	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
John Engaine	1296 – Captain 16 others in retinue had horse valuations (horse inventory) 1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
William Ferrers	1298 – Knight of Despenser's retinue (restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – Captain Retinue: 1 Knight 4 Esquires (vadia)
Brian Fitzalan	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
John Fitzmarmaduke	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling)
Robert Fitzpayn	1298 – Royal Household 19 others in retinue claimed restauro (restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – Captain Retinue: 11 Esquires (vadia)
Robert Fitzroger	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Robert Fitzwalter	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Ralph Fitzwilliam	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling)

Adam de la Ford	1298 – Knight in Robert Tony's retinue (restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Simon Fraser	1298 – Captain 4 others in retinue claimed restauro (Falkirk & restauro equorum) 1300 – Royal Household Retinue: 3 Knights 12 Esquires (vadia)
Thomas Furnival	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Gerard Gondreville	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Ralph Gorges	1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling)
Henry Graham	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
William Grandison	1298 – Captain 9 others in retinue claimed restauro (restauro equorum) 1300 – Captain Retinue: 2 Knights 10 Esquires (vadia)
Henry Grey	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
John Grey	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Robert Hansard	1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling)
Edmund Hastings	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
John Hastings	1296 – Knight in Despenser's retinue (horse inventory) 1298 – Knight in Despenser's retinue (restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1314 – Knight in Valence's retinue (protection)

Eustace Hatch	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – Royal Household Retinue: 3 Knights 6 Esquires (vadia)
John Huddleston	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Walter Huntercombe	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – Captain Retinue: 1 Knight 20 Esquires (vadia)
Richard Kirkbride	1298 – Knight in Clifford's Retinue (restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Philip Kyme	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Henry, Earl of Lancaster	1298 – With Royal Household (restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
John of Lancaster	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Thomas, Earl of Lancaster	1298 – Captain with Royal Household (restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
William Latimer	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – Royal Household Retinue: 6 Knights 13 Esquires (vadia) 1304 – Royal Household Retinue: 1 Knight 4 Esquires (vadia)
John Lestraunge	1300 – Royal Household Retinue: 2 Knights 7 Esquires (vadia)
William Leybourne	1298 – Royal Household 16 others in retinue claimed restauro (restauro equorum) 1300 – Royal Household Retinue: 6 Knights 15 Esquires (vadia)

William Leybourne (cont.)	1304 – Royal Household Retinue: 8 Esquires (vadia)
John de la Mare	1298 – Royal Household 17 others in retinue claimed restauro (restauro equorum) 1300 – Royal Household Retinue: 2 Knights 8 Esquires (vadia)
William Marshal	1298 – Retinue of Henry Beaumont (restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1314 – (protection)
Robert Mohaut	1298 – Captain 15 others in retinue claimed restauro (restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
John Mohun	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Simon Montagu	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – Captain Retinue: 2 Knights 5 Esquires (vadia)
Bertrand Montbourcher	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Ralph Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling) 1314 – (attorney)
Roger Morteyn	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Hugh Mortimer	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – Captain Retinue: 3 Knights 4 Esquires (vadia)
Roger Mortimer of Chirk	1298 – Captain 20 others in retinue claimed restauro (Falkirk & restauro equorum) 1300 – Royal Household Retinue: 2 Knights 14 Esquires (vadia)

Roger Mortimer of Chirk (cont.)	1304 – (Stirling)
Walter Mouncy	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Thomas Multon	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
John Paynel	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Henry Percy	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1314 – (protection)
Hugh Pointz	1298 – Captain 5 others in retinue claimed restauro (Falkirk & restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Thomas Richmond	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
John Rivers	1298 – Royal Household 9 others in retinue claimed restauro (Falkirk & restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Richard de la Rokeley	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
William Ros	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling)
William Ryther	1298 – (Falkirk & restauro equorum) 1300 – Royal Household Retinue: 2 Knights 5 Esquires (vadia) 1304 – Royal Household Retinue: 1 Knight 7 Esquires (vadia)
Amaury St. Amand	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
John St John snr.	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – Captain Retinue: 1 Banneret 12 Knights 64 Esquires (vadia)

John St John snr. (cont.)	1304 – (Stirling)
John St. John jnr.	1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling) 1314 – (attorney)
Robert Scales	1296 – Royal Household 4 others in retinue had horse valuations (horse inventory) 1298 – Captain 7 others in retinue claimed restauro (Falkirk & restauro equorum) 1300 – Royal Household Retinue: 1 Knight 6 Esquires (vadia)
John Segrave	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling) 1314 – (attorney)
Nicholas Segrave	1296 – Captain 3 others in retinue had horse valuations (horse inventory) 1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling) 1314 – (protection)
Richard Siward	1298 – Royal Household 4 others in retinue claimed restauro (Falkirk & restauro equorum) 1300 – Royal Household Retinue: 2 Knights 7 Esquires (vadia)
Robert Tattershall	1296 – Member of John Engaine's retinue (horse inventory) 1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling)

Robert Tony	1296 – Captain 1 other in retinue had horse valuation (horse inventory) 1298 – Captain 17 others in retinue claimed restauro (Falkirk & restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling)
William Tuchet	1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – Captain Retinue: 3 Knights 12 Men-at arms (vadia)
Henry Tyes	1296 – Knight in Despenser's retinue (horse inventory) 1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – (Stirling)
Aymer Valence, Earl of Pembroke	1298 – (Falkirk & restauro equorum) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1314 - (protection)
William Vavasour	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Hugh Vere	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Robert de la Ward	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock) 1304 – Royal Household Retinue: 1 Knight 8 Esquires (vadia)
Roger de la Ware	1300 – Captain Retinue: 2 Knights 12 Esquires (vadia) 1314 – (protection)
John Warenne, Earl of Surrey	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)

Adam Well	1296 – Captain 3 others in retinue had horse valuations (horse inventory) 1298 – Royal Household 14 others in retinue claimed restauro (restauro equorum) 1300 – Royal Household Retinue: 3 Knights 9 Esquires (vadia) 1304 – Royal Household Retinue: 2 Knights 11 Esquires (vadia)
John Wigton	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Robert Willoughby	1300 – (Caerlaverock)
Alan la Zouche	1298 – (Falkirk) 1300 – (Caerlaverock)

1296
Source: E101/5/23 (horse inventory).

1298
Sources: The Falkirk Roll printed in Brault, *Rolls of Arms: Edward I*, 1: 406-17 (Falkirk). The restauro equorum accounts are printed in Gough, *Scotland in 1298*, pp.161-237, the number of other members of Captains' retinues claiming restauro have also been included, although again these are not necessarily comprehensive (restauro equorum).

1300
Sources: The *Song of Caerlaverock* printed in Brault, *Rolls of Arms: Edward I*, 1: 434-43 (Caerlaverock). Captains who received pay for themselves and their retinues is obtained from the *vadia guerre* accounts for this year printed in *Liber Quot.*, pp.195-202 (vadia). The numbers in each retinue tended to fluctuate throughout the duration of the campaign, the figures included in Appendix II are calculated form when the retinues were at their greatest numbers in late July and August.

1304
Sources: Stirling Roll, printed in Brault, *Rolls of Arms: Edward I*, 1: 485-93 (Stirling). The roll is incomplete and gives merely the 93 men in the vanguard under the Earl of Hereford and 9 in the King's brigade on the 30th May in the Middle of the Siege. Fortunately a pay account has survived for this campaign, British Library, Add. M.S. 8835, ff55-68 and the retinue sizes are compiled from this account (vadia).

1314
Sources: C71/6 letters of protection for service in Scotland (protection) and also letters of attorney taken obtained the campaign (attorney). Evidence for John Cromwell's service comes from an exchequer receipt for compensation for lost horses; E404/482 file 31 (E404/482).

Appendix III

Military Service: 1359-60 Sample

Parentheses indicate the source material used to compile military service and correspond to the list of sources at the end of this table.

Robert Alby	1359-60 – Captain 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)
Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence	1359-60 – Captain 6 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Banneret 6 Knights 32 Men-at-arms 40 Archers (vadia)
Roger Archer	Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household (E390/12) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)
Richard Ask	1359-60 – Royal Household 2 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 2 Men-at-arms 12 Archers (vadia)
Ralph Bassett of Drayton	Crécy 1346 – Retinue of William Bohun, Earl of Northampton (memoranda) Calais 1346-7 – Retinue of William Bohun, Earl of Northampton (memoranda) 1359-60 – Captain 20 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 11 Knights 21 Men-at-arms 40 Archers (vadia) 1369 – Captain (Wakefield)
William Baude	Autumn 1342 – Royal Household (vadia) 1359-60 – Captain 2 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Man-at-arms 2 Archers (vadia) 1369 – Captain (Wakefield)
John Beauchamp of Holt Snr.	1338-9 – Royal Household (restauro Equorum) Autumn 1342 – Royal Household (vadia)

John Beauchamp of Holt Snr. (cont.)	Crécy 1346 – Royal Household (memoranda) Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household (memoranda) 1359-60 – Royal Househol 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Man-at-arms 2 Archers (vadia)
John Beauchamp of Holt Jnr.	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign (vadia) 1369 – Royal Household (issue roll)
John Beauchamp of Warwick	1338-9 – Royal Household Retinue: 2 Men-at-arms (vadia) Autumn 1342 – Royal Household Retinue: 3 Men-at-arms (vadia) Crécy 1346 – Royal Household (memoranda) Calais 1346 – 7 – Royal Household (memoranda & E390/12) 1359-60 – Royal Household 8 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 9 Knights 20 Men-at-arms 30 Archers (vadia)
Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1369)	Autumn 1342 – Captain Retinue: 2 Bannerets 20 Knights 73 Men-at-arms 106 Mounted archers (vadia) Crécy 1346 – (protection) Calais 1346-7 – Captain Retinue: 3 Bannerets 64 Knights 131 Men-at-arms 149 Archers (Calais roll) 1359-60 – Captain 20 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 36 Knights 82 Men-at-arms 120 Archers (vadia) 1369 – Captain Retinue: 100 Men-at-arms 100 Archers (issue roll)

Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1400)	1359-60 – Captain 2 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 2 Men-at-arms 3 Archers (vadia) 1369 – Captain Retinue: 2 Men-at-arms 3 Archers (issue roll)
Henry Beaumont	1359-60 – Captain 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Knight 4 Men-at-arms 6 Archers (vadia)
John Beer	Crécy 1346 – (memoranda) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Man-at-arms 8 Archers (vadia)
Thomas Berkeley of Uley	1359-60 – Royal Household 2 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 3 Men-at-arms 4 Archers (vadia)
John Bluet	1346-7 Calais – Royal Household (E390/12) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archers (vadia) 1369 – Royal Household (issue roll)
William Bohun, Earl of Northampton	1338-9 – Captain 24 horses in retinue lost on campaign (restauro equorum) Retinue: 1 Banneret 14 Knights 74 Men-at-arms 50 Archers (vadia) Summer 1342 – Captain Retinue: 6 Bannerets 52 Knights 141 Men-at-arms 184 Mounted (vadia) Crécy 1346 – (memoranda)

William Bohun, Earl of Northampton (cont.)	Calais 1346-7 Captain Retinue: 2 Bannerets 46 Knights 112 Men-at-arms 141 Mounted archers (Calais roll) 1359-60 – Captain 40 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 2 Bannerets 29 Knights 128 Men-at-arms 200 Archers (vadia)
Peter Breux	Autumn 1342 – Royal Household (vadia) Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household Retinue: 2 Men-at-arms 10 Archers (Calais roll) 1359-60 – Captain 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 2 Men-at-arms 3 Archers (vadia)
Guy Brian	1338-9 – Paid wages for leading 24 archers (vadia) Autumn 1342 – Royal Household (vadia) Crécy 1346 – Royal Household (memoranda) Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household (memoranda) Captain – Retinue: 6 Men-at-arms 6 Archers (calais roll) 1359-60 – Royal Household 7 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 6 Knights 38 Men-at-arms 56 Archers (vadia) 1369 – Royal Household (Wakefield)
Nicholas Burnell	1359-60 – Captain 4 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 2 Knights 11 Men-at-arms 20 Archers (vadia)
Thomas Chamberlain	Crécy 1346 – Retinue of Edward Prince of Wales (memoranda)

Thomas Chamberlain (cont.)	Calais 1346-7 – Retinue of Edward Prince of Wales (memoranda) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign (vadia)
John Chandos	1338-9 – In Earl of Salisbury's retinue (restauro equorum) 1359-60 – Royal Household 27 horses in retinue lost Retinue: 54 Men-at-arms 36 Archers (vadia)
John Cherleton	Crécy 1346 – (memoranda) Calais 1346-7 (memoranda) 1359-60 – Captain 12 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 9 Knights 30 Men-at-arms 40 Archers (vadia)
John Chirby	1359-60 – Captain 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Man-at-arms 2 Archers (vadia)
John Cobham	1359-60 – Captain 9 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 2 Knights 22 Men-at-arms 28 Archers (vadia) 1369 – Captain (Wakefield)
Reginald Cobham	1338-9 – Captain 9 horses in retinue lost on campaign (restauro equorum) Retinue: 3 Knights 32 Men-at-arms 24 Archers Autumn 1342 – Captain Retinue 6 Knights 40 Men-at-arms 47 Mounted archers (vadia)

Reginald Cobham (cont.)	Crécy 1346 - (memoranda) Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household (protection & E390/12) Captain – Retinue: 6 Knights 42 Men-at-arms 7 Hobelars 24 Mounted archers 32 Foot archers (Calais roll) 1359-60 – Captain 18 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 8 Knights 31 Men-at-arms 40 Archers (vadia)
Walter Condon	1359-60 – Captain 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 2 Archers (vadia)
Robert Corby	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Men-at-arms 2 Archers (vadia) 1369 – Royal Household (issue roll)
John Crook	1359-60 – Captain 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)
William Danvers	1338-9 – Royal Household (vadia) Crécy 1346 – Royal Household (memoranda) Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household (memoranda) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Man-at-arms 2 Archers (vadia)
Edward Despenser	1359-60 – Royal Household 7 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 12 Knights 48 Men-at-arms 60 Archers (vadia)
James Dichford	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)
Thomas Ednestowe	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 2 Archers (vadia)

John Eddington	Crecy 1346 – Retinue of John Thoresby, keeper of privy seal (memoranda) 1359-60 – Royal Household 2 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 2 Men-at-arms 3 Archers (vadia)
John Elleford	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Man-at-arms 2 Archers Autumn 1342 – Captain Retinue: 3 Men-at-arms (vadia)
John Ellerton	Autumn 1342 (restauro equorum) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign (vadia) 1369 – (issue roll)
Roger Elmrugg	1338-9 – Royal Household (vadia) claimed for his own horse (restauro equorum) Autumn 1342 – Royal Household (vadia) Crécy 1346 – Royal Household (protection) Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household (E/390/12) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 2 Men-at-arms 3 Archers (vadia)
Robert Erhuth	Autumn 1342 – Royal Household (restauro equorum) Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household (E390/12) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Man-at-arms 2 Archers (vadia)
Thomas Eton	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster	1359-60 – Captain 62 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 2 Bannerets 35 Knights 162 Men-at-arms 200 Archers (vadia)

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (cont.)	1369 – Captain (issue roll)
Henry Grey	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Men-at-arms 2 Archers (vadia)
Reginald Grey	1359-60 – Royal Household 6 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 7 Knights 19 Men-at-arms 24 Archers (vadia) 1369 – Captain (issue roll)
John Haddon	Autumn 1342 – Royal Household (restauro equorum) Calais 1346 – Royal Household (E390/12) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Men-at-arms 2 Archers (vadia)
Frank Hale	1359-60 – Captain 43 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 16 Knights 218 Men-at-arms (vadia) 1369 – Royal Household (issue roll)
John Hamelton	1338-9 – Royal Household (vadia) claimed for his own horse (restauro equorum) Autumn 1342 – Royal Household (vadia) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)
Roger Hampton	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)
John Herling	Autumn 1342 – Royal Household (vadia) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Man-at-arms 2 Archers (vadia)
Thomas Hoggshawe	Autumn 1342 – Royal Household (vadia)

Thomas Hoggshawe (cont.)	Calais 1346-7 –Royal household (protection & E390/12) Retinue: 2 Men-at-arms 1 Hobelar 4 Foot Archers (Calais roll) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 2 Men-at-arms 3 Archers (vadia) 1369 – (Wakefield)
Richard Huntingdon	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)
Richard Immworth	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)
Roger Jolif	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)
Edward Kendale	1346 Crécy – Retinue of Hugh Despenser (protection) 1346-7 – Retinue of Hugh Despenser (memoranda) 1359-60 – Captain 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 3 Men-at-arms 4 Archers (vadia)
John Kingston	Autumn 1342 – Royal Household (vadia) 1359-60 – Captain 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)
Thomas Kingston	Crécy 1346 – Retinue of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (protection & memoranda) Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household (as member of John Beauchamp's retinue) (protection) 1359-60 – 1 horse in retinue lost Retinue: 2 Men-at-arms 3 Archers (vadia)
John Kyriel	Crécy 1346 – Retinue of William Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon (protection) Member of William Clinton's household, switched to King's Retinue after Clinton's return (memoranda) Calais 1346-7 – King's Retinue (memoranda)

John Kyriel (cont.)	1359-60 – Captain 2 horses in retinue lost on campaign (restauro equorum) Retinue: 4 Knights 11 Men-at-arms 12 Archers (vadia) (1369 – Kyriel was unable to attend this campaign due to a leg injury but sent a retinue of 1 knight, 6 men-at-arms and 10 archers)
Henry, Duke of Lancaster	1338-9 – Captain 27 horses in retinue lost on campaign (restauro equorum) Retinue: 1 Earl 2 Bannerets 16 Knights 52 Men-at-arms 50 Archers (vadia) Autumn 1342 – Captain Retinue: 3 Bannerets 37 Knights 142 Men-at-arms 208 Mounted Archers (vadia) Calais 1346-7 – Captain Retinue: 11 Bannerets 193 Knights 512 Men-at-arms 46 Hobelars 612 Mounted archers (Calais roll) 1359-60 – Captain 216 horses in retinue lost on campaign (restauro equorum) Retinue: 6 Bannerets 90 Knights 486 Men-at-arms 423 Archers (vadia)
Edmund of Langley, Duke of York	1359-60 – Captain 5 horses in retinue lost on campaign (restauro equorum) Retinue: 15 Men-at-arms 46 Archers (vadia)
Helmyng Leget	1359-60 – Royal Household 2 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Man-at-arms 6 Archers (vadia) 1369 – Royal Household (issue roll)
John Lestraunge	Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household (protection & E390/12) 1359-60 – Captain 1 horse lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)

Nicholas Louvaigne	1359-60 – Royal Household 4 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 6 Men-at-arms 10 Archers (vadia) 1369 – Royal Household (issue roll)
Edward Lovetoft	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)
John Lovetoft	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)
Robert Mahfield	1359-60 – Royal Household 2 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Man-at-arms 4 Archers (vadia)
Robert de la March	Crécy 1346 – Royal Household (protection) Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household (E390/12) 1359-60 – Edmund Langley's retinue 1 horse lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)
John Marmion	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue 1 Men-at-arms 2 Archers (vadia)
John Mayn	Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household (E390/12) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)
Thomas Moign	1346-7 Calais –Royal Household (E390/12) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign (vadia)
William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury	Calais 1346-7 – (protection) 1359-60 – Captain 13 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 15 Knights 33 Men-at-arms 50 Archers (vadia) 1369 – Captain Retinue: 80 Men-at-arms 100 Archers (issue roll)

Roger Mortimer, Earl of March	Crécy 1346 – Royal Household (memoranda) 1359-60 – Captain 15 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 6 Bannerets 61 Knights 232 Men-at-arms 300 Archers (vadia)
Thomas Mussenden	1338-9 – Royal Household (vadia) claimed for his own horse (restauro equorum) Autumn 1342 – Royal Household (vadia) Crécy 1346 – Royal Household (protection) Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household (E390/12) 1359-60 – Royal Household 4 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 4 Men-at-arms 12 Archers (vadia)
Richard Pace	1346-7 Royal Household (memoranda) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Man-at-arms 6 Archers (vadia)
Richard Pembridge	1359-60 – Royal Household 2 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 6 Archers (vadia)
Henry Percy	Crécy 1346 – Retinue of Richard Earl of Arundel (Protection) Calais 1346-7 – Retinue of father Henry Percy (protection) 1359-60 – Captain 16 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 12 Knights 57 Men-at-arms 60 Archers (vadia)
Leo Perton	1338-9 – Royal Household (vadia) Autumn 1342 – Royal Household (vadia) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Man-at-arms 1 Archer (vadia)

William Peterouth	Crécy 1346 - (protection) 1359-60 – Royal Household 2 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 2 Men-at-arms 3 Archers (vadia)
Amineu Pommiers	1359-60 – Captain 3 horses in retinue lost on campaign (restauro equorum)
John Potenhale	1338-9 – Captain claimed for his own horse (restauro equorum) Retinue: 5 Men-at-arms (vadia) Crécy 1346 – Retinue of Thomas Bradstone Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household (protection & E390/12) Captain- Retinue: 2 Men-at-arms 2 Archers 1359-60 – Captain of Royal Household (vadia)
Richard Potenhale	Autumn 1342 – Royal Household (vadia) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue 1 Archer (vadia)
Michael Poynings	1338-9 – originally in Thomas Poynings' retinue and took control of retinue between 12 Oct – 16 Nov after fathers death. Lost 2 horses from his retinue (restauro equorum) Retinue: 3 Knights 11 Men-at-arms (vadia) Autumn 1342 – Captain Retinue: 2 Knights 10 Men-at-arms 8 Mounted archers (vadia) Crécy 1346 – Captain (protection) Royal Household (memoranda & E390/12) Calais 1346-7 Royal Household (E390/12) Captain – Retinue: 1 Banneret 8 Knights 23 Men-at-arms 12 Archers (Calais roll)

Michael Poynings (cont.)	1359-60 – Royal Household 5 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 4 Knights 15 Men-at-arms 20 Archers (vadia)
William Riscby	1338-9 – Royal Household (vadia) claimed for his own horse (restauro equorum) Crécy 1346 –Royal Household (protection) Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household (E390/12) 1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Man-at-arms 2 Archers (vadia)
Almeric St. Amand	Crécy 1346 – Retinue of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (memoranda) Calais 1346-7 – Retinue of Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick (protection) 1359-60 – Royal Household 15 horses in retinue lost on campaign (restauro equorum) Retinue: 3 Knights 17 Men-at-arms 21 Archers (vadia)
Richard Siward	1359-60 – Royal Household 2 horses lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Man-at-arms 2 Archers (vadia)
Edward Seern	1359-60 – Royal Household 2 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Man-at-arms 2 Archers (vadia) 1369 – Royal Household Retinue: 2 Archers (issue roll)
Ralph, Earl of Stafford	Summer 1342 – Captain Retinue: 1 Banneret 21 Knights 51 Men-at-arms (vadia) 26 Mounted archers Gascony 1346 (memoranda) Calais 1346-7 - (protection & memoranda)

Ralph, Earl of Stafford (cont.)	1359-60 – Captain 46 horses in retinue lost Retinue: 30 Knights 86 Men-at-arms 120 Archers (vadia)
Geoffrey Styvecle	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia)
Thomas Swynnerton	1338-9 – Captain 2 horses in retinue lost (restauro equorum) Retinue: 2 Men-at-arms 6 Archers (vadia) Autumn 1342 – Captain Retinue: 2 Men-at-arms (vadia) Crécy 1346 – Royal Household (memoranda) Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household (memoranda & E390/12) 1359-60 – Royal Household 3 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 6 Archers (vadia)
Richard Tatton	1359-60 – Captain 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign (vadia)
Thomas Thornton	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign (vadia)
Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk	1338-9 – Captain 6 horses in retinue lost on campaign (restauro equorum) Retinue: 1 Banneret 12 Knights 42 Men-at-arms (vadia) Autumn 1342 – Captain Retinue: 1 Banneret 14 Knights 7 Men-at arms 47 Mounted Archers (vadia) Crécy 1346 – Captain (protection) Calais 1346-7 – Captain Retinue: 1 Banneret 20 Knights 92 Men-at-arms 90 Archers (Calais roll)

Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk (cont.)	1359-60 – Captain 18 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 19 Knights 40 Men-at-arms 60 Archers (vadia)
Thomas Ughtred	1314 – (protection) Crecy 1346 – Retinue of Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick (protection) Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household Retinue: 6 Knights 17 Men-at-arms 24 Archers (Calais roll) 1359-60 – Royal Household 9 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 5 Knights 14 Men-at-arms 20 Archers (vadia)
Richard de la Vache	1338-9 – In Earl of Salisbury's retinue (restauro equorum) Autumn 1342 – In Earl of Derby's retinue (restauro rquorum) Crécy 1346 – King's Retinue (memoranda) Calais 1346-7 – Royal Household (E390/12) 1359-60 – Royal Household 9 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 9 Men-at-arms 10 Archers (vadia)
Guy of Warwick	1359-60 – Captain 2 horses in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 6 Men-at-arms 10 Archers (vadia)
John Younge	1359-60 – Royal Household 1 horse in retinue lost on campaign Retinue: 1 Archer (vadia) 1369 – Captain Retinue: 12 Men-at-arms (issue roll)

William la Zouche of Harringworth	Crécy 1346 – Retinue of Henry Duke of Lancaster (memoranda) 1359-60 – Royal Household 14 horses in retinue lost on campaign Reinue: 11 Knights 34 Men-at-arms 40 Archers (vadia) 1369 – Captain Retinue: 35 Men-at-arms 40 Archers (issue roll)

1338-9
Source: Lyon, Lyon, Lucas and de Sturler, *Wardrobe Book of William Norwell*: pp.309-25 (restauro equorum); pp.325-356 (vadia); Number of archers comes from *Vadia Sagiariorum* pp.356-62.

1342-3
Source: Accounts of William Eddington: E36/204 ff. 105v-10v (vadia); E36/204 ff.86r-88r (restauro equorum).

Crecy and Calais 1346-7
Sources for both campaigns extracted from: Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*: French Roll (protection), pp.80-136. Memoranda Roll Queen's Remembrancer 21 EIII – 31 EIII (memoranda), pp.136-190. Wetwang's Accounts, College of arms MS (Calais roll), pp.191-200. Payment of Wages to Household (E390/12), pp.209-19.

1359-60
Source: E101/393/11, fos 79r-116v (vadia). Restauro equorum included in the *vadia* account.

1369
Source: E403/438 mm.17-38 (Issue roll) – This role gives the sizes of some retinues which have been used by J. Sherborne in: *War, Politics and Culture in Fourteenth-Century England* (London, 1994), p.4. Sherbourne has also included projected retinue sizes from indentures with individual captains which have not been repeated above. An incomplete file of privy seal records ordering Wakefield to account has also been used to identify those present on this campaign E101/396/13 (Wakefield).

Appendix IV

Royal Charter Witness Lists, 1274-1399

Figures given in this table are percentages of total charters witnessed per regnal year. Only members of the sample witnessing more than five charters have been included. There are no royal charters rolls for the years 1272-73 and 1287-88 whilst Edward I was absent from the realm.

Name	1273-74[1] (3)[2]	1274-75 (9)	1275-76 (22)	1276-77 (23)	1277-78 (25)	1278-79 (36)	1279-80 (89)	1280-81 (110)	1281-82 (25)
Robert Fitzroger									4.0
Robert Fitzwalter							2.2		8.0
Eustace Hatch							6.7	9.1	16.0
Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln	33.3	11.1	40.9	34.8	36.0	19.2	51.7	38.2	64.0
William Leyburn							1.1		
John St. John									
John Warenne, Earl of Surrey		11.1	4.5	13.0	12.0	2.8	15.7	21.8	32.0
Name	**1282-83 (47)**	**1283-84 (60)**	**1284-85 (143)**	**1285-86 (50)**	**1288-89 (12)**	**1289-90 (108)**	**1290-91 (68)**	**1291-92 (65)**	**1292-93 (32)**
Walter Beauchamp (Steward 1289-1303)						32.4	82.4	73.8	71.9
John Botetourt							7.4	8.8	
William Cantilupe							1.5		
Hugh Despenser						2.8	2.9	1.5	
Robert Fitzroger			3.5						

[1] Reign of Edward I. Regnal year runs 20 November – 19 November. There are no royal charters granted between November 1272 – November 1273 whilst Edward I was returning from crusade; and non enrolled in the royal charter rolls between November 1286 – November 1288 whilst the king was in Gascony.

[2] Number of charters per regnal year. This figure does not include duplicate charters, charters with no witness lists or charters with incomplete or partially unreadable witness lists.

Name	1282-83 (47)	1283-84 (60)	1284-85 (143)	1285-86 (50)	1288-89 (12)	1289-90 (108)	1290-91 (68)	1291-92 (65)	1292-93 (32)
Robert Fitzwalter			6.3	10.0	33.3	0.9		13.8	
John Hastings			2.1	12.0			16.2	2.9	
Eustace Hatch	42.6	36.7	0.7	2.0		1.9	22.1	2.9	
Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln	66.0	30.0	38.5	44.0	41.7	74.1	55.9	80.0	37.5
William Latimer		26.7	1.4			22.2	30.9		9.4
William Leyburn		10.0	13.3	18.0		0.9	11.8	2.9	
Roger Mortimer				4.0			4.1	1.5	
John St. John		3.3	7.0		41.7	32.4	22.1	26.2	31.3
John Segrave								6.2	
William Ros									3.1
Hugh de Vere									3.1
John Warenne, Earl of Surrey	27.7	1.7	49.7	24.0	66.7	31.5	17.6	21.5	37.5
Alan la Zouche								1.5	

Name	1293-94 (51)	1294-95 (23)	1295-96 (25)	1296-97 (21)	1297-98 (13)	1298-99 (35)	1299-1300 (42)	1300-01 (55)	1301-02 (50)
Amanieu Albret								9.1	4.0
Hugh Bardolf							4.8		
Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick					7.7	22.9	9.5	70.9	6.0
John Beauchamp of Somerset									4.0
Walter Beauchamp (Steward 1289-1303)	74.5	73.9	52.0	71.4	76.9	60.0	71.4	76.4	94.0

Name	1293-94 (51)	1294-95 (23)	1295-96 (25)	1296-97 (21)	1297-98 (13)	1298-99 (35)	1299-1300 (42)	1300-01 (55)	1301-02 (50)
Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford & Essex						14.3	11.9		10.0
John Botetourt				38.1	23.1	2.9	11.9	30.9	24.0
John of Brittany						2.9	26.2	34.5	66.0
William Cantilupe						5.7			
Robert Clifford			4.0	19.0		14.3	9.5	10.9	
Hugh Courtenay							4.8		
Hugh Despenser			68.0	71.4	46.2	25.7	54.8	45.5	60.0
John Engaine				9.5			4.8	3.6	
Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel			12.0	14.3		2.9	4.8	1.8	
Robert Fitzpayn				9.5		5.7			
Robert Fitzroger			24.0			5.7	4.8	3.6	2.0
Robert Fitzwalter	7.9	4.3	4.0		7.7	17.1	21.4	1.8	6.0
Henry Grey						2.9	4.8	3.6	
John Hastings		4.3	48.0	9.5		11.4	23.8	23.6	22.0
Eustace Hatch					7.7	11.4	2.4		
Walter Huntercombe		8.7				5.7	7.1	1.8	
Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln	64.7	60.9			46.2	60.0	71.4	7.3	28.0
Henry of Lancaster					7.7	5.7	2.4		
Thomas, Earl of Lancaster					23.1	17.1	61.9	29.1	28.0
William Latimer	11.8					8.6	11.9	1.8	10.0

Name	1293-94 (51)	1294-95 (23)	1295-96 (25)	1296-97 (21)	1297-98 (13)	1298-99 (35)	1299-1300 (42)	1300-01 (55)	1301-02 (50)
William Leyburn		8.7		14.3	15.4	5.7	4.8	1.8	7.0
John de la Mare	5.9						4.8		
Robert Mohaut							4.8	1.8	
Ralph Monthehermer, Earl of Gloucester							4.8		16.0
Roger Mortimer	3.9					2.9		9.1	2.0
Henry Percy				14.3	30.8	17.1	11.9	9.1	6.0
William Ros						8.6	4.8		
John Segrave			16.0	14.3		2.9	28.6	58.0	10.0
Almeric St. Amand									6.0
John St. John	15.7					8.6	31.0	45.5	24.0
Robert Tattershall					7.7		7.1		
Robert Tony							4.8	3.6	
Aymer Valence				14.3		14.3		34.5	64.0
Hugh de Vere	11.8				7.7	20.0	35.7	38.2	34.0
John Warenne, Earl of Surrey	25.5	39.1	36.0	4.8	30.8	42.9	76.2	76.4	86.0
Adam Well			4.0	4.8	7.7	2.9	7.1		2.1
Alan la Zouche	2.0						4.8		

Name	1302-03 (49)	1303-04 (111)	1304-05 (77)	1305-06 (37)	1306-07[3] (71)	1307-08[4] (40)	1308-09 (54)	1309-10 (37)	1310-11 (66)
Amanieu Albret		3.6	3.9						
Hugh Bardolf	4.1	0.9							
Bartholomew Badlesmere								2.7	1.5
John Beauchamp of Somerset								2.7	
Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick	53.1	68.5	27.3	13.5	42.3	20.4		8.1	
Walter Beauchamp	10.2								
Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford & Essex	73.5	79.3	87.0	62.2	14.1	27.5	59.3	16.2	
John Botetourt			3.9		5.6	2.5		2.7	
John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond	65.3	76.6	62.3		9.9	25.0	22.2	21.6	
William Cantilupe	4.1								
Robert Clifford	12.2	0.9	15.6	43.2	29.6	55.0	40.7	24.3	98.4
Hugh Courtenay					14.1				
John Cromwell						15.0	1.9		4.5
Hugh Despenser	81.6	60.4	45.5	35.1	66.2	60.0	63.0	37.8	4.5
Robert Fitzpayn		2.7		8.1		40.0	53.7	89.2	45.5
Robert Fitzroger	36.7	23.4	18.2	27.0	22.5		3.7		
Robert Fitzwalter	4.1				19.1		25.9	5.4	4.5
Ralph Fitzwilliam					8.5				10.6
Henry Grey				2.7		2.5			

[3] This regnal year runs from 20 November 1306 until the death of Edward I on 7 July 1307.
[4] Reign of Edward II. Regnal year runs 8 July – 7 July.

Name	1302-03 (49)	1303-04 (111)	1304-05 (77)	1305-06 (37)	1306-07 (71)	1307-08 (40)	1308-09 (54)	1309-10 (37)	1310-11 (66)
John Hastings			7.8	16.2	8.5	15.0		2.7	
Eustace Hatch	4.1	0.9	6.5						
Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln	10.2	34.2	62.3	64.9	77.5	35.0	79.6	70.3	1.5
Henry of Lancaster				8.1	1.4				
Thomas Lancaster, Earl of Lancaster	59.2	72.1	13.0	51.4	31.0	40.0	7.4	13.5	
William Latimer	2.0	0.9							
William Leyburn	4.1	0.9	2.6			2.5	1.9		
John de la Mare (Steward 1303-7)			2.6		7.0				
Robert Mohaut			1.3						
Ralph Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester	40.8	78.4	33.8	27.0	4.2				
Roger Mortimer			6.5	2.7	36.6			2.7	9.1
Henry Percy	2.0	9.0	18.2	21.6	7.0	17.5	29.6	24.3	69.7
William Ros		13.5							34.8
John Segrave	4.1	36.9	7.8	8.1	7.0	7.5		5.6	2.7
Nicholas Segrave				5.4			11.1	2.7	1.5
Almeric St. Amand				5.4					
John St. John (Jnr.)			1.3		2.8	12.5			
Robert Tattershall	8.2								
Robert Tony			1.3			20.9	1.9		
Aymer Valence, Earl of Pembroke	10.2	38.7	68.8	59.5	14.1	12.5	33.3	2.7	
William Vavasour		4.5	2.6						27.7
Hugh de Vere		3.6	2.6	5.4	1.4			8.1	

Name	1302-03 (49)	1303-04 (111)	1304-05 (77)	1305-06 (37)	1306-07 (71)	1307-08 (40)	1308-09 (54)	1309-10 (37)	1310-11 (66)
Robert de la Warde	61.2	80.2	89.6	89.2	7.0				
John Warenne, Earl of Surrey	79.6	22.5							
Adam Well			6.5	8.1	1.4	5.0			
Alan la Zouche				5.4					
Name	**1311-12 (66)**	**1312-13 (68)**	**1313-14 (52)**	**1314-15 (57)**	**1315-16 (63)**	**1316-17 (63)**	**1317-18 (87)**	**1318-19 (93)**	**1319-20 (35)**
Bartholomew Badlesmere (Steward 1318-21)	19.1	20.6	26.9	19.3	36.5	28.6	56.3	58.1	74.3
Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick	6.4			57.9					
Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford & Essex	10.6	1.5	23.1	36.8	65.1	87.3	88.5	63.4	45.7
John Botetourt				24.6	4.8			4.3	
John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond		45.6	44.2	35.1	63.5			46.2	31.4
John Clavering		2.9					1.1	6.5	
Robert Clifford	23.4								
Hugh Courtenay	2.1			21.1			2.3	23.7	
John Cromwell (Steward 1314-6)	6.4	2.9	13.5	80.7	100.0	34.9	9.2	4.3	11.4
Hugh Despenser	21.3	98.5	88.5	10.6	15.9	61.9	62.1	1.1	22.9
Robert Fitzpayn	14.9	8.8	40.4	1.8		6.3		2.2	
Robert Fitzwalter		8.8		5.3	3.2				2.9
Ralph Fitzwilliam	36.2	1.5	11.5	7.0	6.3	6.3			
John Grey of Wilton		1.5		8.8	3.2	1.6		3.2	
John Hastings		1.5							

Name	1311-12 (66)	1312-13 (68)	1313-14 (52)	1314-15 (57)	1315-16 (63)	1316-17 (63)	1317-18 (87)	1318-19 (93)	1319-20 (35)
Philip Kyme	2.1			14.0	3.2		5.7		
Henry of Lancaster					6.3	3.2		2.2	
Thomas Lancaster, Earl of Lancaster	12.8			43.9	33.3	4.8		38.7	11.4
Robert Mohaut				3.5	12.7	12.7			
Ralph Monthermer	10.6	2.9	7.7	17.5	7.9	19.0	2.3	3.2	2.9
Roger Mortimer	4.3	7.4	5.8	8.8	22.2			2.2	
Henry Percy	36.2		3.8	12.3					
William Ros	4.3					9.5			
John Segrave		2.9	5.8		9.5	6.3		6.5	2.9
Nicholas Segrave	4.3	47.1	9.6	7.0	1.6			1.1	
John St. John (Jnr.)				1.6	3.2			3.2	
Aymer Valence, Earl of Pembroke	8.5	75.0	75.0	61.4	50.8	31.7	89.7	64.5	80.0
William Vavasour									
Hugh de Vere		2.9		3.5	6.3				
Alan la Zouche	2.1	2.9							

Name	1320-21 (33)	1321-22 (37)	1322-23 (35)	1323-24 (34)	1324-25 (22)	1325-26 (26)	1326[5] (6)	1327[6] (78)	1328 (101)
Bartholomew Badlesmere (Steward 1318-21)	78.8								
John Beauchamp of Somerset			2.9					7.7	
Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford & Essex	36.4								
John Botetourt			5.7						
John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond	30.3	81.1	42.9						
John Clavering				8.9	4.5				
Hugh Courtenay			8.9	9.1				4.0	6.9
John Cromwell	3.0	8.1	2.9		4.5			19.2	5.0
Hugh Despenser, Earl of Winchester	87.9	10.8	14.3	20.6	54.6	34.6	33.3		
Robert Fitzwalter									
Henry, Earl of Lancaster			14.3		31.8	7.7		50.0	36.6
Robert Mohaut									
Ralph Monthermer	3.0								
John Segrave		37.8	40.0	23.6					
John St. John (Jnr.)		13.5			4.5		16.7		
Aymer Valence, Earl of Pembroke	63.7	54.1	82.9	67.7					

[5] This regnal year runs from 8 July 1326 – 20 January 1327, however, no royal charters were granted after October 1326.
[6] Reign of Edward III. Regnal year runs 25 January – 24 January

Name	1329 (58)	1330 (110)	1331 (89)	1332 (55)	1334 (50)	1335 (80)	1336 (64)	1337 (82)	1338 (47)
John Beauchamp of Somerset		0.9	1.1						
Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon	6.9	4.5					3.1	13.4	8.5
Henry, Earl of Lancaster	12.1	26.4	9.0						
Name (1359-60 Sample)	**1329 (58)**	**1330 (110)**	**1331 (89)**	**1332 (55)**	**1334 (50)**	**1335 (80)**	**1336 (64)**	**1337 (82)**	**1338 (47)**
Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (Snr.)			2.3	30.9	4.4	45.0	12.5	28.0	38.3
William Bohun, Earl of Northampton								62.5	85.7
Henry, Earl of Derby		0.9	3.4		2.2	2.5	10.9	18.3	61.7
Ralph Stafford									4.3
Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk (Steward 1336-7)			4.5			11.3	73.4	39.0	
Name	**1339 (14)**	**1340 (49)**	**1341 (24)**	**1342 (16)**	**1343 (28)**	**1344 (28)**	**1345 (10)**	**1346 (24)**	**1347 (28)**
Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (Snr.)	35.7	10.2		62.5	67.9	42.9	60.0	45.8	21.4
William Bohun, Earl of Northampton	82.1	20.0	33.3	57.1	59.6	50.0	38.5	60.0	57.1
Henry, Earl of Derby)		46.9	29.2	68.8	7.1	25.0	80.0		60.7
Ralph Stafford (Steward 1341-5)	7.1	12.2	95.8	93.8	100.0	96.4	30.0		
Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk		2.0	4.2		28.6	17.9	20.0	25.0	10.7

Name	1348 (47)	1349 (10)	1350 (13)	1351 (10)	1352 (9)	1353 (19)	1354 (21)	1355 (12)	1356 (17)
John Beauchamp of Warwick						5.3	4.8		
Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (Snr.)	27.7	40.0	7.7	40.0	55.5	68.4	57.1	41.7	
William Bohun, Earl of Northampton	59.6	50.0	38.5	60.0	55.5	52.6	47.4	58.3	70.6
Guy Brian							4.8	8.3	52.9
John Charlton									23.5
Henry, Earl of Lancaster	95.7	70.0	53.8	60.0	33.3	78.9	52.4	50.0	41.2
William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury								8.3	
Roger Mortimer, Earl of March				10.0		5.3	38.1	91.7	88.2
Henry Percy					11.1	21.1	28.6		
Ralph, Earl of Stafford	23.4	60.0	38.5	60.0	22.2	15.8	26.3	33.3	23.5
Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk	8.5	10.0			11.1	5.3	4.8		
Name	**1357 (8)**	**1358 (8)**	**1359 (11)**	**1360 (12)**	**1361 (19)**	**1362 (19)**	**1363 (11)**	**1364 (18)**	**1365 (10)**
Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarance								33.3	10.0
John Beauchamp of Warwick		12.5	18.2	41.7					
Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick	25.0	62.5	54.4	33.3	36.8	47.4	9.1		
William Bohun, Earl of Northampton	50.0	62.5	54.5	16.7					
Guy Brian (Steward 1359-61)	37.5	75.0	63.6	100.0	31.6	31.6	27.3	27.8	20.0
John Cherleton (Chamberlain 1355-60)		12.5	36.4	8.3					
Edward Despenser						21.0	36.4	88.9	100.0
John of Gaunt, Earl of Richmond					5.3	36.8	90.1	94.4	100.0

Name	1357 (8)	1358 (8)	1359 (11)	1360 (12)	1361 (19)	1362 (19)	1363 (11)	1364 (18)	1365 (10)
Henry, Duke of Lancaster		37.5	54.5	33.3	15.8				
Edmund of Langley, Earl of Cambridge							36.4	72.2	90.0
William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury				8.3	21.1	10.5			
Roger Mortimer, Earl of March	62.5	25.0	81.8						
Henry Percy	12.5			9.1			27.3	5.6	
Ralph, Earl of Stafford	37.5			41.7		26.3			
Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk	25.0	37.5		33.3	10.5	42.1	45.5		10.0
Name	**1366 (14)**	**1367 (15)**	**1368 (11)**	**1369 (7)**	**1370 (3)**	**1371 (8)**	**1372 (9)**	**1373 (8)**	**1374 (2)**
Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarance	28.6	80.0	9.1						
Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (Snr.)	21.4	26.7	27.3	57.1					
Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (Jnr.)					33.3	50.0			
Guy Brian		6.7	18.2	28.6	33.3	37.5		12.5	
John Cobham			9.1						
Edward Despenser	57.1	80.0	18.2					12.5	50.0
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster	85.7	13.3	81.9	57.1	33.3		22.2	37.5	100.0
Edmund of Langley, Earl of Cambridge	85.7	73.3	90.9	28.6			77.8	100.0	100.0
William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury	42.9		18.2	42.9	100.0	87.5		12.5	50.0
Henry Percy	21.4								
Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk	7.1								

Name	1375 (6)	1376-77[7] (12)	1377-78[8] (27)	1378-79 (14)	1379-80 (24)	1380-81 (10)	1381-82 (11)	1382-83 (13)	1383-84 (23)
Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (Jnr.)			25.9	14.3	37.5	70.0	72.7	53.8	8.7
Guy Brian (Chamberlain 1377-8)	66.7	8.3	55.6	7.1			9.1		
John Cobham			11.1						
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster		66.7	88.9	70.4	91.7	60.0	90.9	100.0	65.2
Edmund of Langley, Earl of Cambridge		91.7	77.8	85.7	91.7	90.0		53.8	87.0
William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury		8.3	3.7	14.3		20.0	54.5	7.7	26.1
Name	**1384-85 (10)**	**1385-86 (19)**	**1386-87 (11)**	**1387-88 (5)**	**1388-89 (10)**	**1389-90 (13)**	**1390-91 (13)**	**1391-92 (13)**	**1392-93 (12)**
Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (Jnr.)	10.0	26.3		60.0	80.0		46.2	23.1	50.0
John Cobham			27.3	80.0	20.0		7.7	7.7	
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster	100.0	78.9				46.2	84.6	84.6	91.7
Edmund of Langley, Duke of York	100.0	68.4	90.9	100.0	70.0	76.9	53.8	76.9	91.7
William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury	10.0	26.3	18.2		40.0	15.4			

[7] Regnal year runs from 25 January until Edward III's death on 21 June 1377.
[8] Reign of Richard II. Regnal year runs 22 June – 21 June.

Name	1393-94 (13)	1394-95 (8)	1395-96 (11)	1396-97 (7)	1397-98 (19)	1398-99[9] (11)			
Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick	38.5	50.0	54.5						
John Cobham	7.7	12.5							
John of Gaunt, Duke of York	92.3	87.5	63.6	85.7	100.0	27.3			
Edmund of Langley Duke of York	69.2	87.5	100.0	100.0	100.0	90.9			
William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury	15.4								

Sources: Figures for the reign of Edward I is compiled from the data provided by R. Huscroft, 'The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I, *List and Index Society*, 279 (2000). Figures for Edward II's reign follows, J. S. Hamilton, Charter Witness Lists for the Reign of Edward II', in N. Saul (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England I* (Woodbridge, 2000), Appendix 1, pp.7-17; the full charter witness lists for this reign are printed in, J. S. Hamilton, 'The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward II (1307-1326) From the Charter Rolls in the Public Record Office' *List and Index Society*, 288 (2001). Data for the reigns of Edward III and Richard II follows, C. Given Wilson 'Royal Charter Witness Lists, 1327-1399', *Medieval Prosopography*, 12 (1991): 61-93.

[9] No royal charters between 22 June 1399 and Richard II's deposition 29 September 1399.

Appendix V

Summonses and Election to Parliament (1300 Sample)

Name	Elected Member of Parliament	Individual Summons to Parliament
Bartholomew Badlesmere		Oct 1309 – May 1321
Alexander Balliol		Sept 1300 – Feb 1307
Hugh Bardolf		Feb 1299 – Jun 1302
John Bassett	May 1316 – Rutland Jul 1316 – Rutland Oct 1324 – Rutland	
Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick		Mar 1299 – d.13.15
John Beauchamp of Somerset		Dec 1299 – Aug 1336
Maurice Berkeley		Aug 1398 – May 1321
Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford		May 1298 – Jul 1321
John Botetourt		Jul 1305 – Sept 1324
John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond		Baron – May & Jul 1305 Earl – Jan 1307 – Jan 1335
William Cantilupe		Dec 1299 – Aug 1308
John Clavering		Jul 1299 – Nov 1331
Robert Clifford		Dec 1299 – Nov 1313
Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon		Baron – Feb 1299 – Jul 1334 Earl – Feb 1335 – Nov 1339
John Cromwell		Mar 1308 – April 1335
Elias Daubeney		Jun 1295 – Jan 1305
Hugh Despenser, Earl of Winchester		Baron Jun 1295 – March 1322 Earl Sept 1322 – Oct 1325
John Deyncort	Mar 1300 – Derbs. Jul – 1316 – Derbs. Oct 1318 – Derbs. Oct 1320 – Derbs. Sept.	
John Engaine		May 1297 – May 1322
William Ferrers of Groby		Dec 1299 – Sept 1324
Brian Fitzalan		Jun 1295 – Jun 1305

Name	Elected Member of Parliament	Individual Summons to Parliament
Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel		24 Jun 1295 – Sept 1300
Robert Fitzpayn		Feb 1299 – Oct 1314
Robert FitzRoger		Nov 1295 – Oct 1309
Robert Fitzwalter		Jun 1295 – Oct 1325
Ralph Fitzwilliam		Jun 1295 – Oct 1315
Thomas Furnivalle		Jun 1295 – Jan 1332
Ralph Gorges		March 1308 – Sept 1322
William Grandison		Feb 1299 – Oct 1325
Henry Grey of Codnor		Feb 1299 – Aug 1308
John Grey of Wilton		March 1309 – Sept 1322
John Hastings		Jun 1298 – Jul 1312
Eustace Hatch		Feb 1299 – Jan 1305
Walter Huntercombe		Jun 1295 – Oct 1309
Philip Kyme		Jun 1295 – Nov 1313
Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln		Jun 1295 – Dec 1309
Henry, Earl of Lancaster		Baron Apr 1299 - Mar 1324 Earl Oct 1326 – Apr 1344
John of Lancaster		Dec 1299 – Dec 1309
Thomas, Earl of Lancaster		Mar 1299 – Jul 1321
William Latimer		Dec 1299 – Nov 1304
William Leyburn		Feb 1299 – Dec 1309
John de la Mare	May 1298 – Hereford	Feb 1299 – Jul 1313
William le Marshal		Jan 1309 – Nov 1313
Robert Mohaut		Feb 1299 – Jun 1329
John Mohun		Feb 1299 – Oct 1330
Simon Montague		Dec 1299 – Oct 1315
Ralph Monthermer (Earl of Gloucester *jure uxori*)		Earl 25 May 1298 – Jan 1307 Baron 4 March 1309 – 13 Sept 1324
Hugh Mortimer		Feb 1299 & April 1299
Roger Mortimer of Chirk		Feb 1299 – May 1321
Walter Mouncy		Feb 1299 – Nov 1306
Thomas Multon		Feb 1299 – Jul 1321

Name	Elected Member of Parliament	Individual Summons to Parliament
John Paynel		Dec 1399 – Nov 1306 & Nov 1317 – Aug 1318
Henry Percy		Feb 1299 – Jul 1314
Hugh Pointz		Jun 1295 – Aug 1307
John Rivers		Feb 1299 – Oct 1315
Richard de la Rokeley	Sept – Oct 1302 – Norfolk Aug & Nov 1311 – Norfolk Sept 1314 – Norfolk Jan 1315 – Norfolk Jul 1316 – Norfolk	
William Ros		Feb 1299 – Oct 1315
William Ryther		Dec 1299 – Jan 1311
Amaury St. Amand		Dec 1299 – Jun 1311
John St. John, Jnr.		Dec 1299 – Oct 1325
Robert Scales		Dec 1299 – Jan 1305
John Segrave		Aug 1296 – May 1325
Nicholas Segrave		Jun 1296 – May 1325
John Le Strange		Sept 1299 – Dec 1309
Robert Tattershall		Feb 1299 – Sept 1302
Robert Tony		Feb 1299 – Oct 1309
William Tuchet		Dec 1299 – Nov 1306
Henry Tyes		Jan 1313 – May 1321
Aymer Valence, Earl of Pembroke		Baron Mar 1299 – Nov 1306 Earl Jan 1307 – Nov 1322
William Vavasour		Feb 1299 – Jan 1313
Hugh de Vere		Feb 1299 – March 1318
Robert de la Warde		Nov 1299 – Nov 1306
John Warenne, Earl of Surrey		Jun 1295 – Sept 1302
Roger de la Ware		Feb 1299 – Jun 1311
Adam Well		Feb 1299 – Jun 1311
Robert Willoughby		Jul 1313 & Nov 1313
Alan La Zouche		Feb 1299 – Nov 1313

Sources: GEC 12 vols. in 13 pts.; Palgrave, *Parliamentary Writs*, 2 vols. in 4 pts.; *Report from the Lord's Committees . . . for all Matters Touching the Dignity of a Peer* vols.1-3; *Return of the Name of Every Member of the Lower House of Parliament*, 2 vols.

Appendix VI

Summonses and Election to Parliament (1359-60 Sample)

Name	Elected Member of Parliament	Individual Summons to Parliament
Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence		Nov 1360 – Feb 1368
Ralph Bassett of Drayton		Dec 1357 – Dec 1389
William Baude	Nov 1373 – Herts	
John Beauchamp of Holt, Snr.	Jan 1352 – Worcs. Nov. 1355 – Worcs.	
John Beauchamp of Holt, Jnr.	Jan 1377 – Worcs. Oct 1377 – Worcs. Jan 1380 – Worcs. Nov 1380 – Worcs.	
John Beauchamp of Warwick		Nov 1350 – Dec 1357
Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick		Jan 1330 – Feb 1368
Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick		May 1368 – Oct 1400
Henry Beaumont		Aug 1362 – Feb 1369
William Bohun, Earl of Northampton		Jun 1337 – Dec Dec 1358
Guy Bryan		Nov 1350 – Dec 1389
Nicholas Burnell		Nov 1350 – Jan 1383
John Cherleton		March 1354 – Nov 1360
Cobham John		Sept 1355 – Feb 1406
Reginald Cobham		Nov 1347 – Nov 1360
Edward Despenser		15 Dec 1357 – 6 Oct 1372
Roger Elmrugg	Jan 1361 – Oxfordshire Oct 1362 – Oxfordshire Oct 1363 - Oxfordshire Jan 1365 – Oxfordshire May 1368 – Oxfordshire Jun 1369 – Oxfordshire Feb 1371 – Oxfordshire	
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster		Nov 1360 – Jan 1398

Name	Elected Member of Parliament	Individual Summons to Parliament
Reginald Grey of Ruthin		Mar 1355 – Mar 1388
Henry of Grosmont, Duke of Lancaster		April – 1337 – Feb 1358
Edward Kendale	Feb 1358 – Herts	.
Edmund of Langley, Duke of York		Oct 1362 – Jun 1402
Thomas Moigne	Jan 1361 – Gloucs. Oct 1362 – Gloucs.	
William Montague, Earl of Salisbury		Jan 1344 – Nov 1396
Roger Mortimer, Earl of March		Baron Nov 1348 – Mar 1354 Mar 1354 – Feb 1358
Thomas Mussenden	Oct 1363 – Bucks. Jan 1365 – Bucks.	
Leonard Perton	Oct 1362 – Worcs.	
Michael Poynings		Nov 1348 – Feb 1368
William Riscby	May 1366 – Hunts. May 1368 – Hunts. Apr 1379 – Hunts.	
Almeric St. Amand		Jan 1330 – Mar 1380
Ralph Stafford, Earl of Stafford d. 1371		Baron Nov 1336 – Nov 1350 Earl Nov 1350 – Feb 1371
Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk		Apr 1337 – May 1368
Thomas Ughtred	Nov 1330 – York Mar 1332 – York	April 1344 – Dec 1364
Richard la Vache	Mar 1340 – Bucks.	
William la Zouche		Nov 1348 – Mar 1381

Sources: GEC 12 vols. in 13 pts.; *Report from the Lord's Committees . . . for all Matters Touching the Dignity of a Peer* vols.1-3; *Return of the Name of Every Member of the Lower House of Parliament*, 2 vols.

Appendix VII

Office-Holding (1300 Sample)

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Bartholemew Badlesmere	1314 – 15 Sheriff Glamorgan	1313 – 1 1315 – 1 1318 – 4 1319 – 1 1320 – 2		1318 – 1				
John Basset		1321 – 3 1327 – 1					1317 – 1	1317 – Assessor of 8th 1321 – Assessor & Collector of 10th & 6th 1332 – Assessor of 15th & 10th
Guy Beauchamp Earl of Warwick	1298 – 1315 Sheriff of Worcs. (under sheriffs appointed).							
John Beauchamp of Somerset		1310 – 2 1313 – 1 1315 – 4 1317 – 1 1318 – 3 1319 – 1 1320 – 1	Mar 1307 – Soms. Dec 1307 – Soms. Jun 1320 – Soms. Jun 1327 – Soms. Feb 1331 – Soms. Feb 1332 – Soms.	1317 – 1 1318 – 1	1326 – 1 1331 – 1	1322 – 2 1326 – 4	1322 – 1 1336 – 1	1315 – Commission of Survey – Dorset

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
John Beauchamp (cont.)		1321 – 1 1322 – 1 1323 – 1 1324 – 2 1325 – 2 1326 – 1 1327 – 4 1328 – 2 1332 – 1						
Walter Beauchamp		1291 – 2 1292 – 2		1291 – 1 1292 – 1			1300 – 1	
Maurice Berkeley		1312 – 1	Dec 1307 – Gloucs. July 1312 – During pleasure Gloucs.	1315 – 1				
Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford & Essex		1318 – 1						
John Botetourt		1293 – 3 1294 – 2 1298 – 2 1299 – 7 1301 – 1 1302 – 6	Oct 1305 – Gloucs, Northants., Berks., Bucks., Deds., Essex, Herts., Cambs., Hunts., Rutland	1292 – 1 1295 – 1 1300 – 2 1305 – 1 1310 – 1 1318 – 3			1300 – 1 1318 – 1	1295 – Keeper of Maritime coast Norf. 1301 – Commission of Survey – waterways between Hereford & Monmouth

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
John Botetourt (cont.)		1305 – 9 1310 – 2 1315 – 1 1316 – 2 1317 – 3 1318 – 6 1320 – 1 1324 – 1						
John Clavering				1325 – 1				
Robert Clifford	1298 – 1314 With wife Iodena sheriffs of Westmoreland (under sheriffs appointed 1298 – 1308) 1314 – Sheriff of Norhamshire							
Hugh Courtenay Earl of Devon		1315 – 8 1316 – 1 1317 – 3 1318 – 2 1319 – 5 1320 – 2 1327 – 5 1328 – 2 1330 – 1 1331 – 2 1333 – 2 1335 – 2 1336 – 1 1338 – 1	June 1326 – Wilts., Soms., Dorset., Devon., Cornwall. May 1330 (Eyre) – Beds. Feb 1331 – Devon Feb 1332 – Devon Mar 1332 –Devon July 1338 – Overseer of commissioners in Cornwall, Devon, Soms., Dorset Aug 1338 – Cornwall, Devon,	1318 – 1 1326 – 1 1337 – 1 1338 – 1 1340 – 2		1326 – 3	1317 – 1 1318 – 1 1339 – 1 1340 – 1	1327 – Commission to perambulate forest of Devon 1338 – Commission to provide for safety of Devon coastline from invasion

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Hugh Courtenay (cont.)		1339 – 3 1340 – 1	Soms., Dorset					
John Cromwell		1309 – 3 1310 – 1 1312 – 1 1313 – 1 1315 – 3 1320 – 1 1327 – 1 1329 – 1		1313 – 1 1314 – 1 1315 – 1		1322 – 3 1323 – 2	1314 – 1 1317 – 1	
John Deyncourt		1315 – 2	Jun 1320 – Derbs.		1319 – 2		1317 – 1 1321 – 1 1322 – 1	1313 – Collector of 20th & 15th – Derbs. 1314 – Commission to audit moneys given for pavage in Derbs. 1318 – Commission to perambulate forest of Notts. 1319 – Collector 18th – Derbs.
Hugh Despenser Earl of Winchester		1297 – 1 1299 – 2 1302 – 1 1305 – 1 1320 – 1 1322 – 1				1323 – 1 1326 – 3	1322 – 1 1323 – 1	
Patrick, Earl of Dunbar				1299 – 1				
John Engaine			Jun 1320 – Hunts.					
William Ferrers			Jun 1320 – Leics.					

294

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Brian Fitzalan		1291 – 1 1293 – 1 1305 – 1						
John Fitzmarmaduke	1275 – Sheriff of Norhamshire & Elandshire							
Robert Fitzpayn		1298 – 1 1299 – 4 1300 – 2 1301 – 1 1305 – 1 1306 – 1 1308 – 1 1311 – 2 1313 – 12 1314 – 4 1315 – 1		1311 – 1			1314 – 2	
Robert Fitzwalter		1304 – 1 1305 – 1 1314 – 3 1315 – 1 1320 – 2	July 1325 – Essex Aug 1326 – Essex	1315 – 1		1326 – 3	1314 – 1 1317 – 1	
Ralph Fitzwilliam		1314 – 2 1315 – 4		1309 – 1 1315 – 1				
Adam de la Ford		1311 –1						

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Thomas Furnival		1318 - 1	Jun 1320 – Notts.			1326 – 1		
Ralph Gorges	1306-7 – Sheriff of Devon	1319 – 1 1323 – 1				1322 – 1 1323 – 1		1321 – Justicar of Ireland
William Grandison		1288 – 1		1290 – 1				
John Grey of Wilton & Ruthin		1315 – 1	Jun 1320 – Beds.	1309 – 1 1312 – 1 1313 – 1				
Eustace Hatch		1281 – 1 1282 – 1 1283 – 1						
John Huddleston		1303 – 1						
Philip Kyme		1310 – 2 1312 – 5 1313 – 1	July 1308 – Lincs. July 1312 – Lincs.		1310 – 1 1314 – 1		1317 – 1	
William Latimer	1267 – Accounted as undersheriff on behalf of his father between Michaelmas & Christmas							
Henry Lacy Earl of Lincoln				1290 – 1			1274 – 1	

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Henry Earl of Lancaster	1327 – 45 Power to appoint under sheriffs in Lancs.	1326 – 1 1339 – 2 1340 – 1	Mar 1332 – Liecs. Aug 1338 – Notts., Derbs., Liecs., Staffs. Oct 1338 – Worcs., Warwicks., Oxfords.			1323 – 1 1326 – 2	1339 – 1	
John of Lancaster		1315 – 1 1318 – 1 1321 – 5 1324 – 4 1326 – 1 1327 – 2 1328 – 3 1329 – 2	Dec 1307 – Westmorland Mar 1308 – Westmorland	1310 – 1		1324 – 2		
Thomas Earl of Lancaster	1298 – 1320 Power to appoint under sheriffs in Lancs.	1315 – 1		1308 – 1				1321 – Commission upholding statute regarding fishing of salmon – Lancs.
William Leybourne		1304 – 1						
Robert Mohaut						1326 – 1		
John Mohun			Dec 1307 – Soms. Jun 1320 – Soms.		1327 – 1	1326 – 1		
Simon Monague				1309 – 1				
Ralph Monthermer Earl Gloucster		1313 –2						1315 – Commission to survey Great Yarmouth

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Roger Mortimer of Chirk		1304 – 3 1305 – 2 1317 – 1 1318 – 2		1312 – 1				Justicar of North Wales
Thomas Multon		1303 – 1	1317 – during pleasure – in Holland Lincs. 1318 – Holland		1320 – 1		1317 - 1	
John Paynel	1317 – 19 Sheriff of Camarthenshire	1312 – 1						
Henry Percy		1305 – 1 1308 – 1 1309 – 1	May 1308 – Yorks. July 1308 – Yorks.					
Hugh Pointz				1298 – 1				
Thomas Richmond	1310 – Sheriff of Norhamshire	1310 – 1						
Richard de la Rokley		1304 – 2 1312 – 1						
John St. John, jnr.		1327 – 1	Nov 1317 – Southampton Jun 1320 – Southampton Jun 1323 – Southampton 1327 – Southampton	1321 – 1		1326 – 3	1321 – 1	

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
John Segrave d.1325		1322 - 1	Jun 1320 – Warwick	1305 – 1		1322 – 1 1323 – 1 1326 – 3		1326 – Commission to guard sea coast at Folkestone
Nicholas Segrave		1308 – 1					1314 – 1	
John Straunge							1309 – 1	
Aymer Valance Earl Pembroke		1302 – 1				1323 – 1		
William Vavasour		1305 – 4 1307 – 2 1309 – 4 1310 – 7	Oct 1305 – Yorks., Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancs., Notts., Derbs., Warwicks., Liecs., Lincs. Feb 1307 (as above) Dec1307 – York	1304 – 1 1310 – 1	1310 – 1		1305 – 1	
Hugh Vere		1305 – 1						
John Warenne Earl of Surrey							1302 – 1	
Adam Well d. 1320					1310 – 1			
Robert Willoughby		1308 – 2 1315 – 1		1304 – 1				

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Alan la Zouche				1311 – 1 1312 – 1 1313 – 1				

Sources: *CPR,* volumes covering the period 1272-1399; *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*; *List of Escheators for England and Wales.*

Appendix VIII

Office-Holding (1359-60 Sample)

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array[1]	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Robert Alby						1362 – 1	1365 – 2 1366 –2	
Lionel of Antwerp Duke of Clarence								1361 – Apt. Lieutenant of Ireland 1364 – Commission of survey indictments in Ireland
Roger Archer							1347 – 1 1351 – 1	
Richard Ask		1361 – 1 1362 – 1 1363 – 2 1365 – 3 1366 – 6 1367 – 3	Aug 1356 – Yorks. Oct 1356 – Howden Co. Durham Jun 1360 – Yorks. Mar 1361 – East Riding May 1365 – Parts of Yorks.	1368 – 1	1356 – 1 1362 – 1 1367 – 1 1368 – 1	1366 – 1 1367 – 1	1348 – 1 1353 – 1 1366 – 2	1368 – Survey Manor of Faxfleet Co. Yorks.
William Baude	1370-1– Sheriff of Essex						1372 – 1	
Ralph Basset of Drayton		1364 – 2 1370 – 1 1377 – 1 1381 – 1	Mar 1364 – Staffs. Feb 1373 – Staffs. July 1373 – Staffs. Nov 1373 – Staffs.	1376 – 1 1383 – 1	1371 – 1	1377 – 2 1380 – 1 1385 – 1		

[1] Includes Military assessment of 1345

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Ralph Basset of Drayton (cont.)		1385 – 1	Dec 1375 – Staffs. Mar 1377 – Staffs. July 1377 – Staffs. May 1380 – Staffs. Aug 1380 – Staffs. Mar 1382 – Staffs. & Leics. Dec 1382 – Staffs. & Leics. Feb 1383 – Leics. May 1386 – Staffs. Aug 1386 – Staffs.					
John Beauchamp brother of Thomas Earl Warwick (1315 – 1369)		1351 – 1 1359 – 1 1360 – 1			1355 – 1 1356 –1			
John Beauchamp of Holt, jnr.		1366 – 2 1367 – 2 1368 – 1 1384 – 1	Oct 1367 – Warwicks. & Worcs. July 1368 – Warwicks. & Worcs. Aug 1369 – Worcs. Nov 1370 – Worcs. Dec 1375 – Worcs.	1374 – 1 1377 – 1 1378 – 2 1385 – 1	1367 – 1 1372 – 1 1377 – 3 1380 – 2		1367 – 1 1381 – 2	

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
John Beauchamp (cont.)			Oct 1367 – Warwicks. & Worcs. July 1368 – Warwicks. & Worcs. Aug 1369 – Worcs. Nov 1370 – Worcs. Dec 1375 – Worcs. May 1376 – Worcs. Jul 1377 – Gloucs. & Worcs. May 1380 – Gloucs. & Worcs. Mar 1382 – Gloucs. & Worcs Aug 1382 – Worcs. Dec 1382 – Gloucs. & Worcs. Feb 1386 – Worcs.	Nov. 1388 – 1				
Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick (d.1369)	1330 – 1369 Sheriff of Worcs. (under sheriffs appointed) 1344 – 69 Sheriff of Warwicks. & Leics. For life (appoints under sheriffs) 1351 – 54 Sheriff of Westmorland (under sheriffs appointed)	1332 – 1 1340 – 2 1341 – 1 1343 – 1 1344 – 1 1348 – 1 1350 – 1	Feb 1332 – Warwicks. & Worcs. Mar 1332 – Warwicks. & Wrocs. Aug 1338 – Warwicks., Worcs. & Oxon Feb 1345 – Worcs. Mar 1351 – Warwicks. & Worcs.			1344 – 1 1345 – 1 1367 – 2		1332 – Commission relating to dispossession of Despensers

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick (cont.)		1359 – 1 1367 – 1	Apr 1352 – Warwicks. & Worcs. Feb & Apr 1353 – Worcs. May 1354 – Worcs. Mar 1361 – Warwicks. & Worcs. Mar 1364 – Warwicks. Oct 1367 – Warwicks. & Worcs. Jul 1368 – Warwicks. & Worcs. Aug 1369 – Worcs.					
Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick (d.1401)	1370 – 1397 Sheriff of Worcs. (under sheriffs appointed for whole period except 1292-96 when accounts in person)	1381 – 1 1382 – 2 1383 – 1 1392 – 1	Oct 1374 – Warwicks. & Worcs. Dec 1375 – Warwicks. & Worcs. May 1376 – Worcs. Jul 1376 – Warwicks. Feb 1377 – Worcs. Jul 1377 – Warwicks. & Worcs. May 1380 – Warwicks. & Worcs. Dec 1381 – Warwicks. Mar 1382 – Worcs. Dec 1382 – Warwicks. & Worcs. Feb 1386 – Worcs.	1381 – 1 1382 – 1 1392 – 1		1377 – 3 1380 – 1 1385 – 1		Court of chivalry cases – 3 To decide various legal cases – 3

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick (d.1401) (cont.)			Dec 1390 – Warwicks. & Worcs. Mar 1393 – Worcs. Jun 1394 – Warwicks. & Worcs. Jul 1394 – Coventry May 1395 – Coventry					
Henry Beaumont						1367 – 1		
John Beer or Bere?				1360 – 1				
John Bluet		1354 – 2 1355 – 1 1356 – 1 1360 – 1		1358 – 1			1359 – 1 1368 – 1	
William Bohun Earl of Northampton	1348 – 59 Sheriff of Rutland (appointed under sheriffs)	1340 – 1 1341 – 1 1358 – 1		1343 – 1		1345 – 1	1338 – 1	1340 – Supervise collectors of the 9th 't in Essex & Herts. 1344 – Audit accounts of Bardi & Peruzzi
Peter Breux		1356 – 3 1371 – 1		1376 – 1			1374 – 1	
Guy Brian		1343 – 1 1345 – 1 1350 – 3 1357 – 1 1358 – 1 1359 – 1 1360 – 1	Feb 1346 – Soms. Jan 1353 – Oxford Aug 1353 – Worcs. & Gloucs. Jul 1354 – Worcs. Apr 1356 – Worcs. Jul 1358 – Worcs.	1342 – 1 1352 – 1 1359 – 1 1362 – 1 1366 – 1 1367 – 1 1369 – 1	1382 – 1 1387 – 1	1370 – 1 1375 – 1 1377 – 2 1379 – 1	1344 – 1 1345 – 1 1346 – 1 1351 – 1 1356 – 1 1356 – 1 1375 – 2	1367 – Commission to make perambulation of Soms. & Devon. 1374 – Commission in role as Constable to hear 2 case regarding an illegal imprisonment by Ralph Basset of Drayton

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Guy Brian (cont.)		1361 – 1 1362 – 1 1363 – 1 1365 – 2 1374 – 5 1376 – 4 1380 – 4 1381 – 1 1382 – 2 1383 – 4 1384 – 1 1386 – 3 1389 – 1	Feb 1359 – Worcs. Mar 1361 – Soms. Nov 1362 – Soms. Mar 1364 – Soms. Jun 1364 – Soms. May 1366 – Asoc. To commission in Devon Jul 1368 – Soms. 9 to be held in front of Guy) Feb 1370 – Asoc. To commissions in Dorset, Devon, Gloucs., Cornwall Jul 1374 – Soms. Jul 1375 – Gloucs. & Soms., Devon May 1376 – Soms. Jul 1377 – Soms. & Devon Feb 1378 – Devon May 1380 – Dorset, Devon, Soms. Feb 1381 – Dorset, Devon, Soms. Dec 1381 – Soms. & Dorset Mar 1382 – Dorset, Devon, Soms. Dec 1382 – Dorset, Devon, Soms.	1371 – 1 1374 – 1 1375 – 3 1376 – 1 1382 – 2			1380 – 1 1382 – 1 1385 – 1 1385 – 1 1387 – 1 1388 – 1	

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Guy Brian (cont.)			Nov 1384 – Devon Jan 1385 – Soms. Jun 1385 – Soms. Sept 1385 – Soms.					
Nicholas Burnell		1356 – 1 1371 – 1 1373 – 1 1375 – 1	May 1352 – Salop Mar 1361 – Salop Nov 1362 – Salop May 1363 – Salop Mar 1364 – Salop Jul 1368 – Salop Feb 1374 – Salop Dec 1375 – Salop Jul 1377 – Salop May 1380 – Salop Dec 1381 – Salop Mar 1382 – Salop Dec 1382 – Salop	1365 – 1 1369 – 1 1373 – 2 1374 – 1 1375 – 1 1376 – 1 1380 – 1		1367 – 1 1377 – 2 1380 – 1		1377 – Survey Lithewood Co. Salop.
Thomas Chamberlain		1358 – 2		1355 – 1				1361-3 Purveyor of household
John Cherleton			Jun 1354 – Salop					
John Cobham		1356 – 3 1379 – 1 1382 – 2 1383 – 2 1384 – 1 1393 – 1	Mar 1361 – Kent Mar 1364 – Kent May 1365 – Kent Jun 1370 – Kent Jun 1374 – Kent May 1380 – Kent Feb 1381 – Kent Sept 1381 – Kent Dec 1381 – Kent Mar 1382 – Kent	1363 – 1 1364 – 1 1365 – 1 1367 – 1 1370 – 1 1374 – 1 1381 – 1 1382 – 1 1383 – 1 1386 – 1	1365 – 1 1368 – 1 1369 – 1 1382 – 1 1388 – 1 1393 – 2	1379 – 1 1380 – 1 1381 – 2 1385 – 3 1386 – 2	1366 – 1 1367 – 1 1370 – 1 1371 – 1	1360 – Commission to repair wall of Thames at Stone co. Kent. 1364 & 1369– Survey bridge of Rochester 1369 – Survey Isle of Thanet co. Kent 1371 – Commission to collect 116s. from each parish of Kent

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
John Cobham (cont.)			Dec 1382 – Kent Oct 1382 – Kent Feb 1384 – Kent Feb 1385 – Kent May 1385 – Kent Jun 1387 – Kent Aug 1388 – Kent Jul 1389 – Kent Nov 1389 – Kent Jun 1390 – Kent Mar 1392 – Kent & Sussex Jun 1394 – Kent May 1396 – Kent Jul 1397 – Surrey	1391 – 1 1392 – 1				1380 – Survey fortifications of various ports in Kent Court of chivalry cases – 8 Court of admiralty Cases – 1 1391 – Commission to correct errors made in a suit before the aldermen of London
Reginald Cobham		1340 – 1 1341 – 2						
Robert Corby		1362 – 1 1364 – 2			1365 – 1			
Edward Despenser			Mar 1364 – Gloucs. May 1366 – Gloucs.	1375 – 1		1367 – 1		
Thomas Edenstowe								1362-63 – Purveyor for office of poultry
John Edyngton			Mar 1361 – co. Southampton					
John Ellerton				1352 – 1 1358 – 1 1370 – 1		1362 – 2 1364 – 1 1368 – 1	1349 – 1 1352 – 1 1354 – 2 1356 – 1	

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
John Ellerton (cont.)							1362 – 1 1366 – 2 1378 – 2 1379 – 1 1380 – 1 1382 – 1	
Roger Elmrugg	1360 –2 Sheriff of Oxon & Berks. 1365 – 68 Sheriff of Oxon & Berks. 1372 –3 Sheriff of Oxon & Berks.	1362 – 1 1363 – 1 1365 – 2 1371 – 2	Nov 1362 – Oxon Mar 1364 – Oxon May 1367 – Oxon Jul 1368 – Oxon Feb 1375 – Asoc. Oxon	1364 – 1 1365 – 1 1369 – 1	1361 – 1 1369 – 1	1367 – 1 1369 – 1 1370 – 1		1363 – Survey river Lithe in Oxon 1364 – Survey king's mills at Oxford 1371 – Collector of 116s. from each parish of Oxon 1375 – Survey Hythe in Ottermore
John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster	1370 – 77 Power to appoint sheriffs in Lancs.	1364 – 1 1376 – 1 1380 – 1 1381 – 3 1382 – 2 1383 – 3 1384 – 2 1385 – 2	May 1363 – Lancs Mar 1364 – Herts., Leics., Derbs., Holand, Lindsey, Kesteven, West Riding, North Riding Nov 1364 – West Riding, North Riding May 1365 – Herts. May & Jun 1366 – West Riding Jul 1368 – Derbs., Kesteven, Lindsey, Holand, East Riding, North Riding, West Riding, Herts. Feb 1369 – Lindsey	1376 – 1 1381 – 1	1369 – 1 1377 – 1 1381 – 1 1383 – 3 1397 – 1	1369 – 1 1385 – 1		1377 – 81 Granted regalities in Lancs. 1381 – Commission to settle dispute between commonality of York & John Gisburn 1381 – Commission to issue mandate against illegal confederates etc. & punish insurgents In Yorks. & Leics. 1382 – Power to levy fines and issue pardons with his fellow O&T commissioners in Yorks. 1384 – Hear & determine appeal of Earl of Salisbury

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster (cont.)			Feb 1370 – Derbs., Lancs. Mar 1371 – Kesteven, Lindsey, West Riding, Leics., Westmoreland Dec 1375 – West Riding, Lindsey, Debrs., Leics., Herts., Yorks. Oct 1376 – Derbs. Nov 1376 – Yorks. Mar 1377 – Leics., Yorks. Jul 1377 – Kesteven, Lindsey Nov 1377 – Holand, West Riding Jun 1378 – North Riding May 1380 – Warwicks., Leics., Derbs., Norfolk, Notts., Staffs., Herts., East Riding, West Riding, North Riding, Holand, Lindsey, Kesteven Aug 1380 – Staffs., North Riding, Norfolk Dec 1380 – Derbs.					in his case with Matthew Gourney & John Multon 1386 – Apt. with the assent of parliament to hear case of John Lovell regarding a fine levied from him whilst he was a minor 1390 – Examine case of Gourney vs. Lewis before constable of Calais 1391 – Hear & determine dispute between King's lieges & merchants of Prussia, Hanse, Guelderland & Holland Court of chivalry cases – 4 Court of Admiralty cases - 1

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster (cont.)			Jan 1381 – North Riding Apr 1381 – Leics. May 1381 – Lindsey Oct 1381 – Liberty of Beverley Dec 1381 – Derbs., Cumberland, Leics., Northumberland, Westmoreland, Herts., Lincs., Yorks. Mar 1382 – Yorks., Herts., Derbs., Cumberland, Leics., Lincs., Westmoreland, Northumberland Dec 1382 – Herts., Derbs., Cumberland, Leics., Warwicks., Northumberland, Staffs., Notts, West Riding, North Riding, East Riding Feb 1383 – Herts., Leics. Mar 1383 – Leics, Yorks. Dec 1383 – Norfolk, Kesteven, Holand, Lindsey, Leics,					

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster (cont.)			Yorks. Nov 1384 – Kesteven Feb 1385 – East Riding, West Riding, North Riding Dec 1385 – Cumberland, Northumberland Apr 1386 – North Riding, Norfolk Jul 1386- West Riding Dec 1388 – Lindsey, Derbs. Dec 1390 – Sussex, Herefords., Dorset, Gloucs, Staffs, Herts., Northants., Leics., Warwicks., Notts., Derbs., Holand, Kesteven, Lindsey, Norfolk, Suffolk, Dec 1390 – Sussex, Herefords., Dorset, Gloucs, Staffs, Herts., Northants., Leics., Warwicks., Notts., Derbs., Holand, Kesteven, Lindsey,					

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster (cont.)			Norfolk, Suffolk, North Riding, East Riding, Newcastle-upon-Tyne Nov 1391 – Herts. Dec 1391 – Norfolk, Staffs, Suffolk Jan 1392 – North riding Feb 1392 – Lindsey, Norfolk, Herefords., Suffolk, Staffs. Sept 1392 – Northants. Nov 1392 – West Riding Jan 1393 – Suffolk Mar 1393 - Northants. May 1393 – Sussex Jun 1394 – Herefords., Northants., Gloucs., Derbs., Warwicks., Leics., Herts., Staffs., Sussex, Notts., Dorset, Suffolk, East Riding, North Riding, West Riding, Lindsey, Kesteven, Norfolk, Holand Nov 1394 – Holand					

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster (cont.)			Feb 1395 – Notts. May 1395 – Cumberland, North Riding Aug 1395 – East Riding Jan 1396 – Derbs. Jun 1396 – Cumberland Jul 1396 – Dorset Dec 1396 – Suffolk Feb 1397 – North Riding, Northumberland Mar 1397 – Herts., East Riding, Northants., Norfolk Jun 1397 – Sussex Jul 1397 – Herefords., Sussex, Surrey, Gloucs., Warwicks., Norfolk, Suffolk Aug – Herts. Sept 1397 – Cambs. Nov 1397 – Hunts, Cambs., Sussex Dec 1397 – Middlesex Feb 1398 – Holand May 1398 – Cumberland, Holand					

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster (cont.)			Jun 1398 – Cumberland Oct 1398 – Northants. Nov 1398 – Gloucs., Derbs., Warwicks., Suffolk Dec 1398 – Notts.					
Reginald Grey of Ruthin		1345 – 1 1346 – 3 1364 – 1 1366 – 1 1384 – 1	Jan 1355 – Oxon May 1356 – Beds. Jun 1361 – Bucks. Mar 1361 – Bucks., Beds. Mar 1364 – Oxon, Beds. Jul 1368 – Beds. Jul 1374 – Beds. Dec 1375 – Beds. Jul 1377 – Beds. May 1380 – Beds. Dec 1381 – Beds. Mar 1382 – Beds. Dec 1382 – Beds. Jul 1388 – Beds.	1366 – 1 1374 – 1 1381 – 1		1367 – 1 1377 – 2 1380 – 1 1381 – 1	1343 – 1	
Henry Grosmont Duke of Lancaster	1345 – 61 Power to appoint sheriffs in Lancs. 1345 – 61 Sheriff of Staffs. (under sheriffs appointed) 1342 – 59 Sheriff of Cardiganshire	1340 - 2	1342 – Commission to apt. men to keep statute of Winchester in Northampton Oct 1359 – Commission to apt. men to keep statute of			1359 – 1		1340 – Assessor of 9th of wool in Salop 1345 – Audit accounts of Bardi & Peruzzi & John Portenare

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Henry Grosmont Duke of Lancaster (cont.)	1342 – 49 Sheriff of Camarthenshire		Winchester in Co. Lancs. Mar 1361 – West Riding Dec 1361 – Northants, Derbs.					
John Haddon				1351 – 1 1353 – 2 1371 – 1		1364 – 1	1344 – 1 1348 – 1 1354 – 1 1356 – 1 1360 – 1 1367 – 1 1375 – 1 1387 – 1	
John Herling		1371 – 1 1376 – 1	Oct 1358 – Cambs. Dec 1375 – Norfolk Nov 1377 – Norfolk	1361 – 1 1363 – 1 1368 – 1 1376 – 1 1378 – 1 1381 – 1			1378 – 1	
Richard Immeworth				1367 – 1		1363 – 1	1366 – 3 1367 – 2 1368 – 1 1369 – 1 1371 – 2 1372 – 1 1373 – 1 1374 – 3 1375 – 2 1377 – 3 1380 – 2	

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Roger Joliff								1360 – Purveyor for household 1361 – Purveyor of household.
Edward Kendale		1348 – 1 1351 – 1 1353 – 1 1356 – 2 1357 – 1	Jun & Jul 1344 – Herts. Apr 1346 – Herts. Oct 1349 – Herts. Mar 1351 – Herts. Mar 1355 – Herts. May 1356 – Herts. Nov 1362 – Herts.	1362 – 1			1344 – 1	
Thomas Kyngeston							1350 – 1	
John Kyriel				1355 – 1		1366 – 1 1367 – 1 1371 – 1		
Edmund Langley Duke of York		1378 – 1	May 1377 – Kent Jul 1377 – Kent Apr 1378 – Kent May 1380 – Kent, Wilts. Sept 1392 – Northants. Mar 1393 – Northants. Jun 1394 – Northants. Mar 1397 – Northants. Sep 1397 – Cambs. Nov 1397 –	1376 – 1 1377 – 1 1378 – 1 1379 – 1 1380 – 1 1383 – 1		1380 - 1		1385 – Justice of Chester for life 1390 – Examine case of Gourney vs. Lewis before constable of Calais

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Langley Duke of York (cont.)			Northants., Cambs., Essex, Norfolk, Kesteven, Holand, West Riding Feb 1398 – Holand Oct 1398 – Northants. Feb 1399 – Norfolk					
Helmyng Leget			May 1380 – Middlesex Dec 1382 – Suffolk Feb 1386 – Asoc. Suffolk Apr 1387 – Suffolk		1380 – 1			1361 – Receiver of debts pursuant of the Statute of Merchants in London 1362 – 1370 Receiver of King's chamber. 1375 – Coroner & clerk of market of household
William Leget								1366 – Controller of customs in London
Nicholas Louveyn		1363 – 1 1373 – 1	May 1363 – Surrey Mar 1364 – Kent, Surrey May 1365 – Kent	1365 – 1		1371 – 1		
John Lovetoft			Dec 1381 – Hunts			1380 – 1		
Edward Lovetoft			Jul 1368 - Essex			1366 – 1		
John Marmion		1373 – 1 1380 – 2 1382 – 1 1384 – 1 1385 – 1	May 1380 – North Riding Jun 1380 – Liberties of Beverley & Ripon Sep 1380 – North Riding	1380 – 1 1381 – 2 1384 – 1 1385 – 1		1385 – 1		1381 – Mandate to restore peace in Scarborough

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
John Marmion (cont.)			Jan 1381 – North Riding Mar 1382 – Yorks. Dec 1382 – North Riding Mar 1383 – North Riding Feb 1385 – North Riding Apr 1385 – North Riding May 1385 – Yorks. Mar 1386 – Yorks.					
John Mayn				1351 – 1 1353 – 2 1355 – 1 1357 – 1			1349 – 1 1351 – 2 1352 – 2 1354 – 1 1356 – 2 1357 – 1	
Thomas Moigne	1360 – 63 Sheriff of Gloucs.	1348 – 1 1350 – 1 1354 – 1 1356 – 1 1363 – 1		1362 - 1	1362 – 1		1350 – 1	1361 – Apt. to arrest wool belonging to King in Gloucs., Soms., Dorset, Devon
William Montague Earl of Salisbury		1374 – 2 1389 – 1	Mar 1361 – Co. Southampton, Dorset, Soms. Mar 1364 – Dorset	1385 – 1 1395 – 1		1367 – 1 1371 – 1 1377 – 2 1380 – 1	1386 – 1 1387 – 1	1367 – Commission to perambulate Co.'s Soms & Devon 1381 – Mandate to punish

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
William Montague (cont.)			Jul 1368 – Dorset Jul 1375 – Dorset Dec 1375 – Dorset, Devon Nov 1377 – Dorset May 1380 – Wilts. Feb 1381 – Wilts., Soms., Dorset Mar 1382 – Soms., Dorset, Wilts. Jul 1382 – Isle of Wight Dec 1382 – Wilts., Dorset, Soms. Jan 1385 – Soms.. Jun & Sep 1385 – Soms. Mar & May 1386 – Wilts Dec 1390 – Wilts., Soms., Dorset Jul 1391 – Wilts. Feb 1392 – Soms. Jun 1394 – Soms., Dorset Jul 1394 – Wilts. May 1396 – Co. Southampton Nov 1396 – Wilts. Jul 1397 – Dorset May 1397 – Co. Southampton			1386 – 1 1387 – 1		insurgents for murder of Archbishop of Canterbury in Soms., Dorset, Co. Southampton & Lincs. 1383 – Asoc. To commission to settle suit between John Dartays & Bernard Lyppe a Lombard 1390 – Determine case between King's lieges & merchants of Prussia 1391 – Hear & determine dispute between King's lieges & merchants of Prussia, Hanse, Guelderland & Holland Court of Chivalry cases – 2 Court of Admiralty cases – 1

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Roger Mortimer Earl of March		1351 – 1 1357 – 1 1358 – 1	Mar 1351 – Salop Feb 1353 – Salop May 1357 – Kent					
Thomas Mussenden			Mar 1364 – Bucks.	1342 – 1				
Richard Pembridge		1331 – 1 1336 - 2	Jul 1338 – Herefords. Jul 1344 – Herefords.				1344 – 1 1371 – 1	1340 – Assessor of 9th in Herefords.
Henry Percy		1354 – 1 1356 – 2 1357 – 1 1364 – 1 1365 – 4 1366 – 1	Jul 1354 – Yorks. Nov 1356 – Yorks. Mar 1361 – West Riding, Northumberland Nov 1362 – Northumberland Mar 1364 – East Riding, West Riding, Northumberland Nov 1364 – East Riding, West Riding, North Riding, Northumberland	1357 – 1 1363 – 1 1367 – 1				
Leo Perton	1346 – 68 Escheator for Worcs	1355 - 1				1366 – 1		.
John Potenhale	1360-61 Sheriff of co. Southampton							
Michael Poynings		1354 – 1	Mar 1351 – Sussex Feb 1354 – Sussex Jun 1354 – Sussex Mar 1361 – Sussex Nov 1362 – Sussex					

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Michael Poynings (cont.)			Mar 1364 – Sussex Jul 1368 – Sussex					
William Risceby		1386 – 1	Mar 1362 – Beds., Northants. Nov 1362 – Beds. Mar 1364 – Hunts.	1362 – 1 1370 – 1		1367 – 1	1380 – 1	1362 – Deputy gauger of wines in Ireland & Chester 1388 – Commission to arrest all Lollard books
Almeric St. Amand		1350 – 2 1351 – 1 1368 – 1	Jul 1344 – Oxon Mar 1361 – Bucks. Aug 1362 – Bucks. May 1380 – Bucks.		1369 – 1	1367 – 1	1358 – 1 1380 – 2	1357 – Justicar of Ireland 1375 – Survey hythe of Ottemere Co. Oxford
Edward St. John		1350 – 1 1352 – 1 1356 – 1 1363 – 1 1364 – 1 1367 – 1 1369 – 1 1377 – 2 1378 – 2 1383 – 1 1384 – 2	Jul 1368 – Sussex May 1375 – Sussex Dec 1375 – Sussex Oct 1376 – Sussex Jul 1377 – Sussex Jan 1378 – Sussex Dec 1381 - Sussex Dec 1382 – Sussex	1365 – 1 1371 – 1 1376 – 1 1379 – 1		1381 - 1	1367 – 1 1371 – 2 1377 – 2 1379 – 2	1374 – Commission to determine maritime law
Edward Seern						1371 – 1		
Ralph Stafford Earl of Stafford		1336 – 1 1341 – 1 1343 – 2 1344 – 3 1345 – 1 1348 – 1 1349 – 2	Mar 1332 – Staffs. Feb 1350 – Leics. Mar 1351 – Staffs Feb & Oct 1355 – Staffs. Dec 1358 – Staffs. Mar 1361 – Staffs.	1341 – 1 1344 – 2 1361 – 2		1345 – 1 1367 – 1	1344 – 1 1366 – 1	1347 – Commission to purvey victuals in Surrey, Sussex & Kent

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Ralph Stafford (cont.)		1351 – 1 1353 – 1 1355 – 1 1358 – 1 1364 – 1 1365 – 1	Jul 1362 – Staffs. Mar 1364 – Staffs. Jul 1368 – Staffs.					
Geoffery Styvecle				1384 – 1				1353 – Marshal of exchequer in Ireland
Thomas Swynnerton	1341-43 – Escheator for Salop, Staffs. & Welsh March	1348 – 1	Feb 1350 – Leics. Mar 1351 – Leics.	1349 – 1			1345 – 1 1365 - 1	
Robert Ufford Earl of Suffolk		1327 – 1 1331 – 1 1334 – 1 1337 – 1 1364 – 2 1365 – 2	Nov 1327 – Norfolk, Suffolk May & Jun 1331 – Norfolk, Suffolk Sep 1349 – Suffolk Feb 1350 – Norfolk Mar 1351 – Norfolk, Suffolk May 1355 - ? Mar 1361 – 1Norfolk Aug 1362 – Norfolk Mar 1364 – Norfolk, Suffolk Jul 1368 – Norfolk, Suffolk	1329 – 1 1368 – 1	1363 – 1	1326 – 2 (arrest of ships) 1330 – 1 1345 – 1 1367 – 1		

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
Thomas Ughtred		1328 – 1 1334 – 1 1343 – 3 1344 – 1 1345 – 1 1348 – 1 1350 – 1 1351 – 3 1352 – 1 1353 – 1 1354 – 1 1356 – 3 1357 – 3 1358 – 2 1359 – 2 1361 – 1 1363 – 1 1364 – 2	Sep 1330 – Yorks. Feb 1331 – North Riding Jul 1344 – East Riding Jul 1348 – Yorks. Mar 1351 – East riding, North Riding Jul 1354 - ? Oct 1354 – Scarborough Jul 1354 – Yorks. Feb 1355 – Scarborough	1345 – 1 1355 – 1 1358 – 2 1359 – 1 1363 – 1	1345 – 1 1350 – 1 1353 – 1 1355 – 1 1356 – 2 1360 – 1	1323 – 1 1324 – 2	1322 – 1 1325 – 2 1345 – 1	1349 – Commission to audit account of King's clerk John Woodhouse in co.'s Yorks., Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancs. 1358 – Survey encroachment of sea in Scarborough
Richard de la Vache d.1366?		1354 – 1 1356 – 2			1364 – 1			
John Younge				1358 - 1				1359 – Purveyor of household.
William la Zouche of Harringworth		1340 – 1 1350 – 1 1352 – 1 1354 – 1 1359 – 1 1370 – 1 1376 – 2 1377 – 3 1381 – 2	Dec 1373 – Northants. Feb 1375 – Northants. Dec 1375 – Northants. Nov 1377 – Northants. May 1378 –	1352 – 1 1373 – 1 1378 – 1 1379 – 1			1367 – 1 1377 – 2 1380 – 1	1375 – Commission to settle dispute between King's men at Okham & Langham & those of Thomas Despenser at Burley 1381 – Mandate to keep order in Northants. in wake of Peasants Revolt

Name	Sheriffs and Escheators	O&T	Keeper of Peace	Inquiry	Walliis Fossatis	Array	Arrest	Other Selected Commissions
William la Zouche (cont.)			Northants. May 1380 – Northants. Dec 1381 – Northants. Mar 1382 – Rutland, Northants.					

Sources: *CPR,* volumes covering the period 1272-1399; *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*; *List of Escheators for England and Wales*.

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Figure 1: Distribution of lands 1300 sample

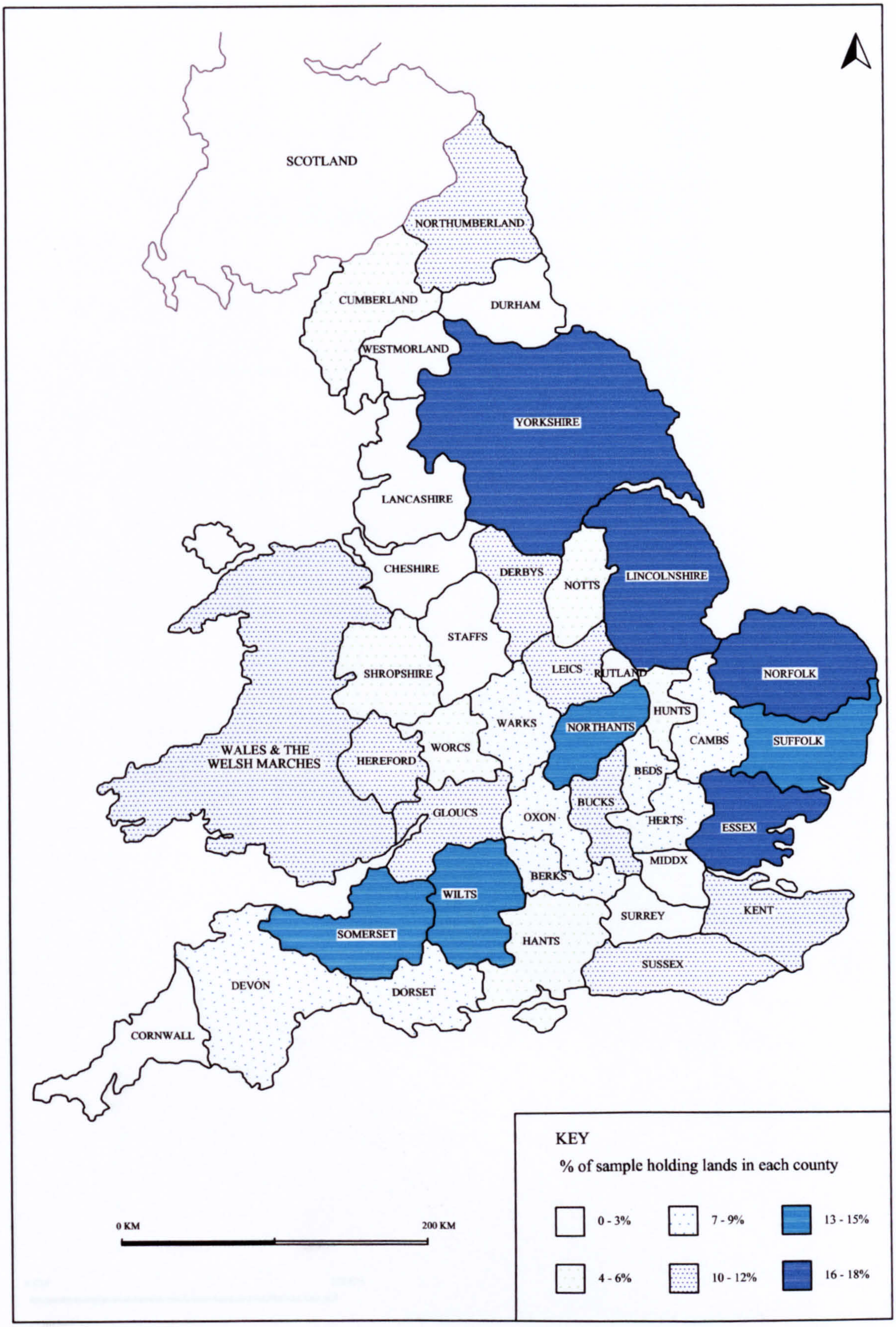


Figure 2: Distribution of lands 1359-60 sample

Figure 3: Total Number of Commissions and Commissioners, 1272-1399

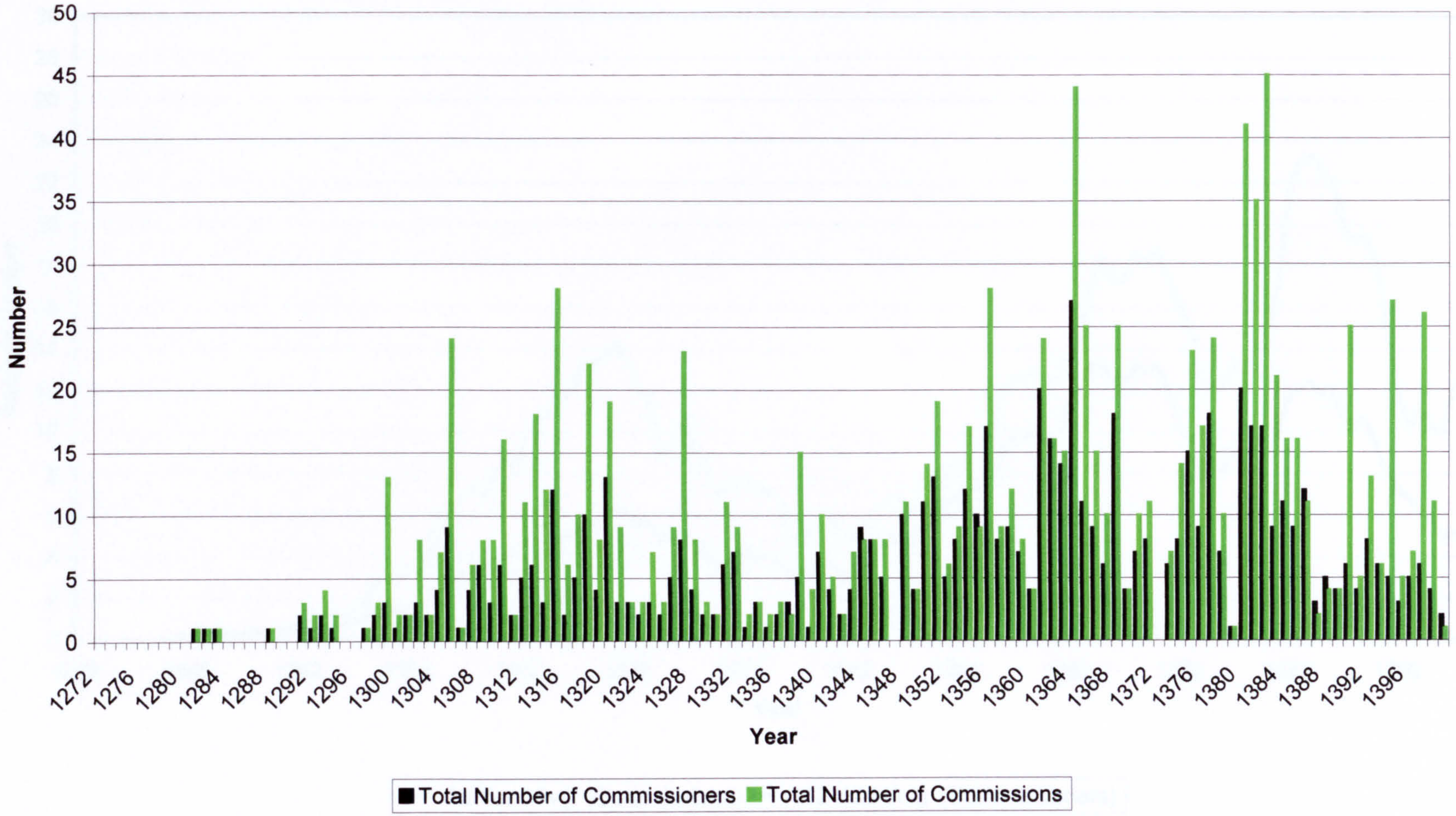


Figure 4: Average Number of Commissioners and Judicial Commissions,1272-1399

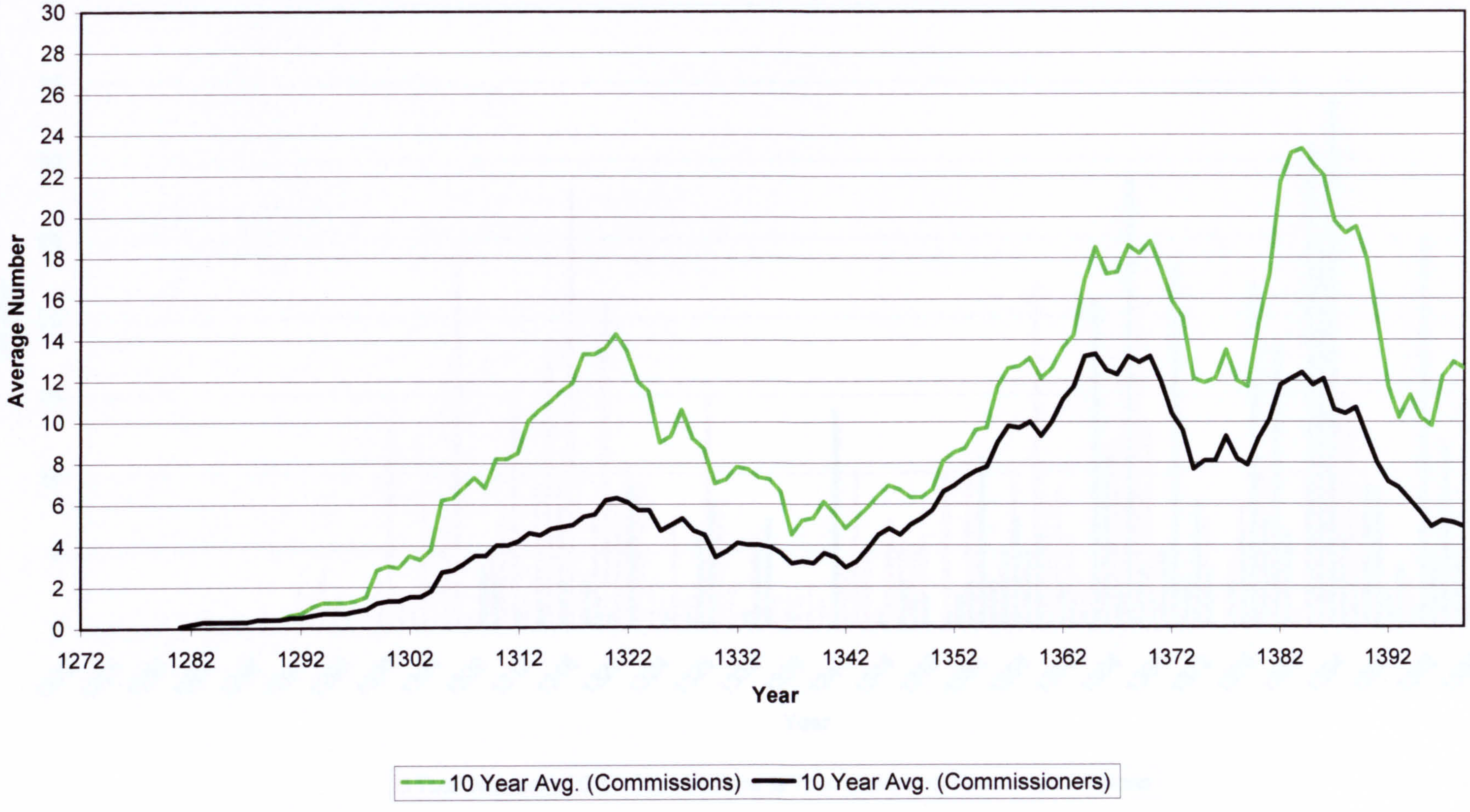
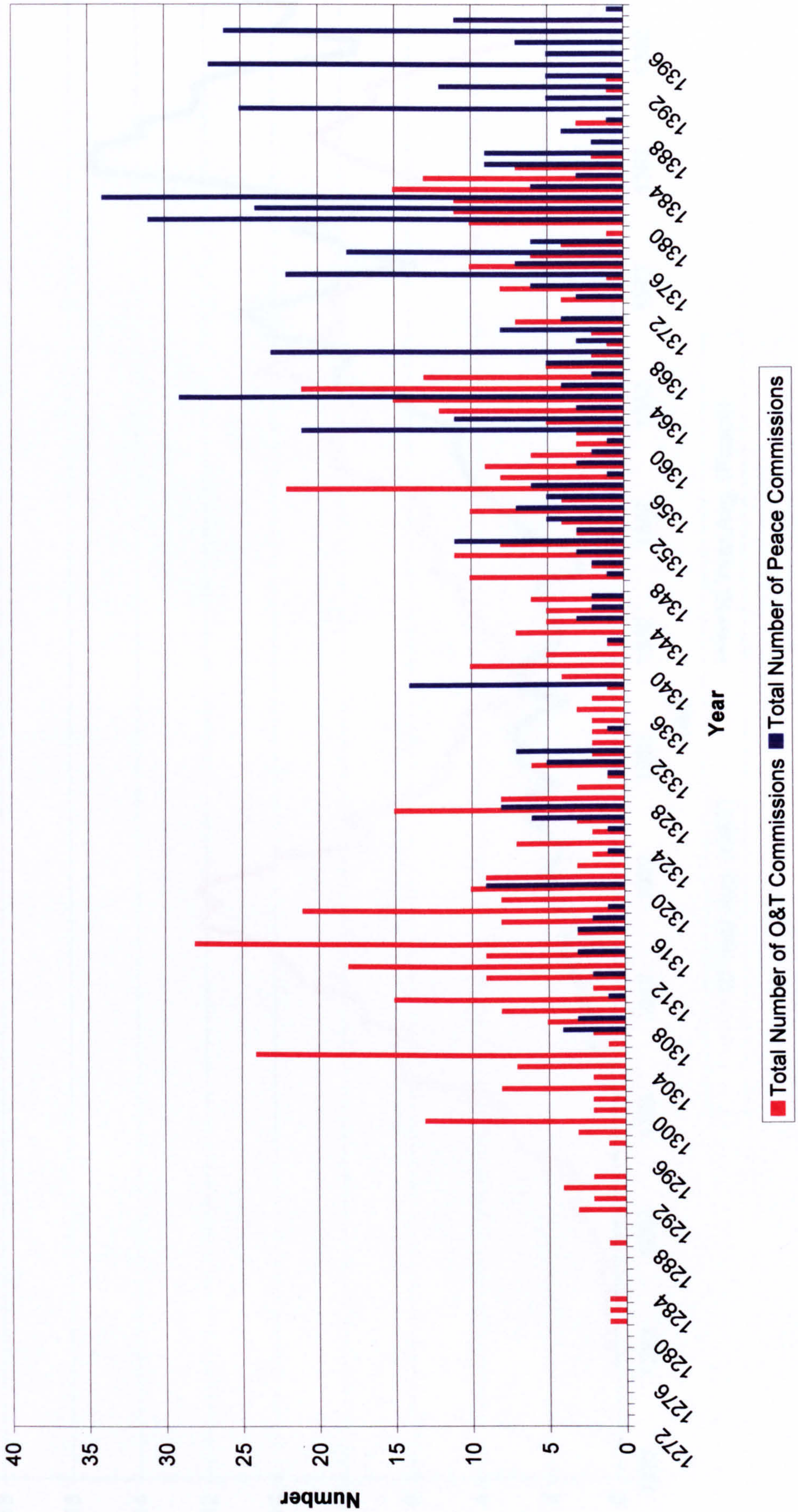


Figure 5: Total Number of Commissions of Oyer and Terminer and Commissions of the Peace, 1272-1399



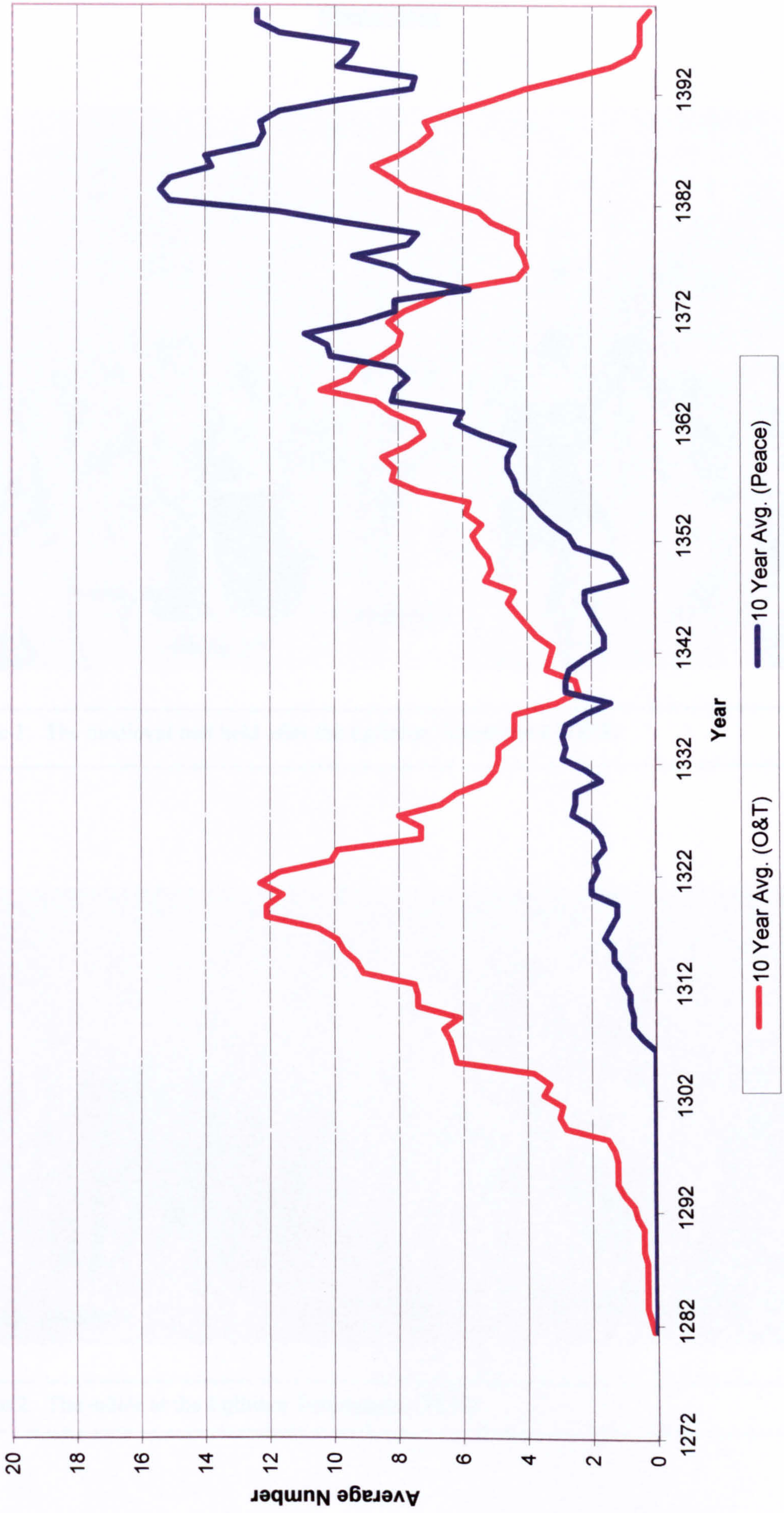


Figure 6: Average Number of Commissions of Oyer and Terminer and Commissions of the Peace, 1272-1399

Illustrations

Plate 1. The medieval ball held after the Eglinton Tournament (1838).

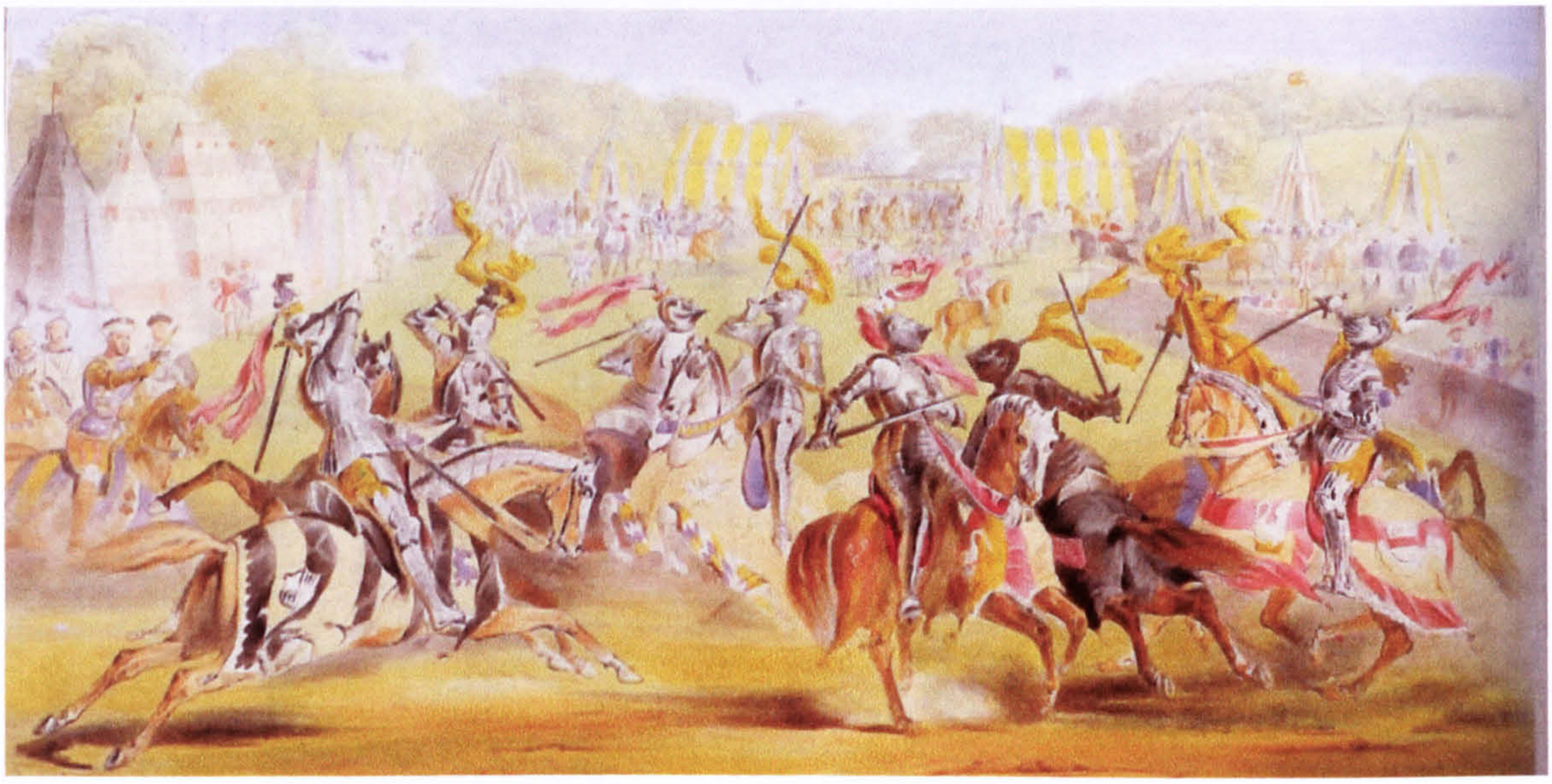


Plate 2. The mêlée at the Eglinton Tournament (1838).

Plate 3. Cenotaph effigy of Prince Albert, Prince Albert Memorial Chapel, Windsor Castle.

Plate 4. Athelstan gives homage to the legendary Guy of Warwick, Langtoft's *Chronicle* (British Library, Royal MS 20A.II.f4).

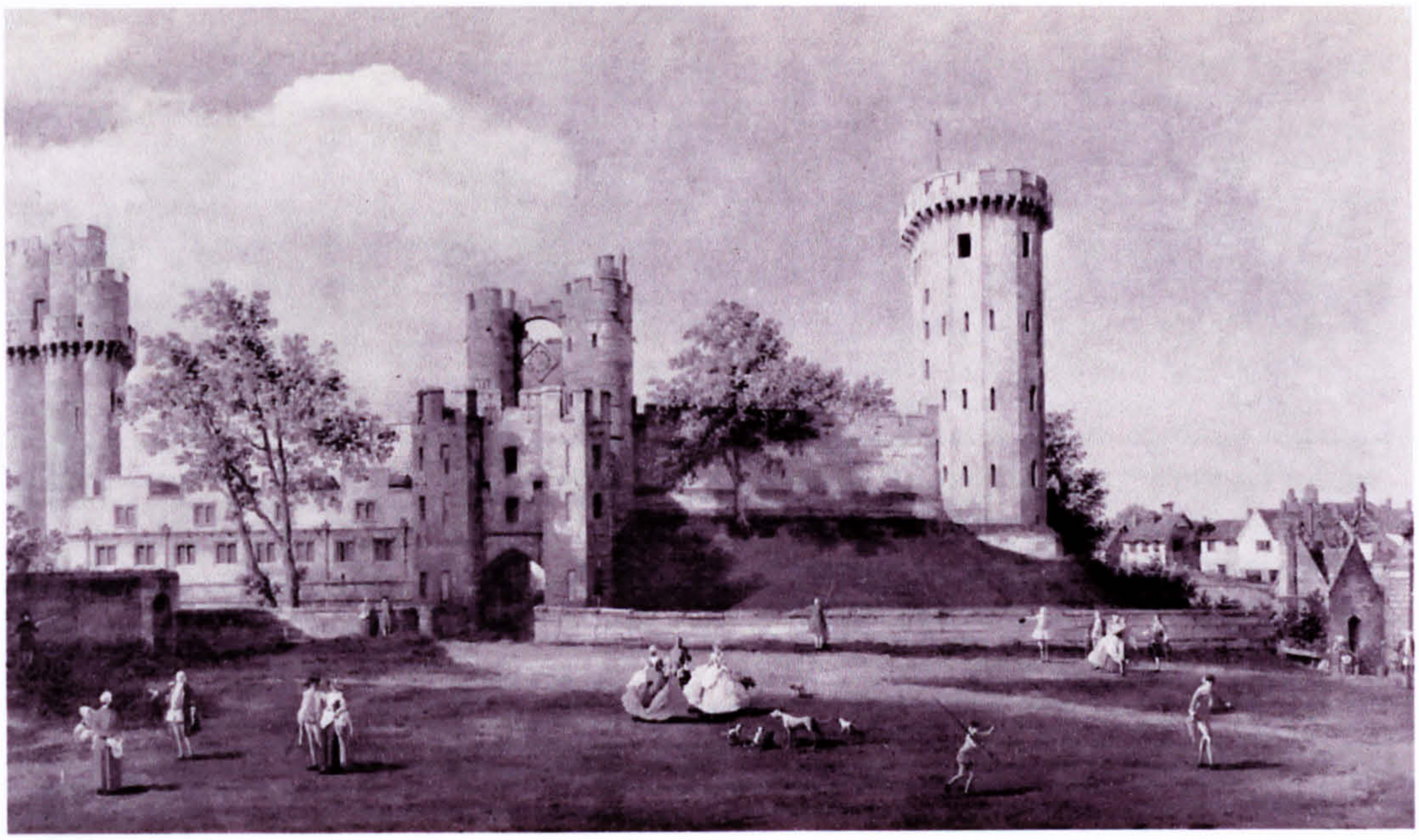


Plate 5. Guy's Tower, Warwick Castle (far right); painting by Canaletto (c.1750).

Plate 6. Guy slays the dragon as depicted on a Mazer owned by the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick.

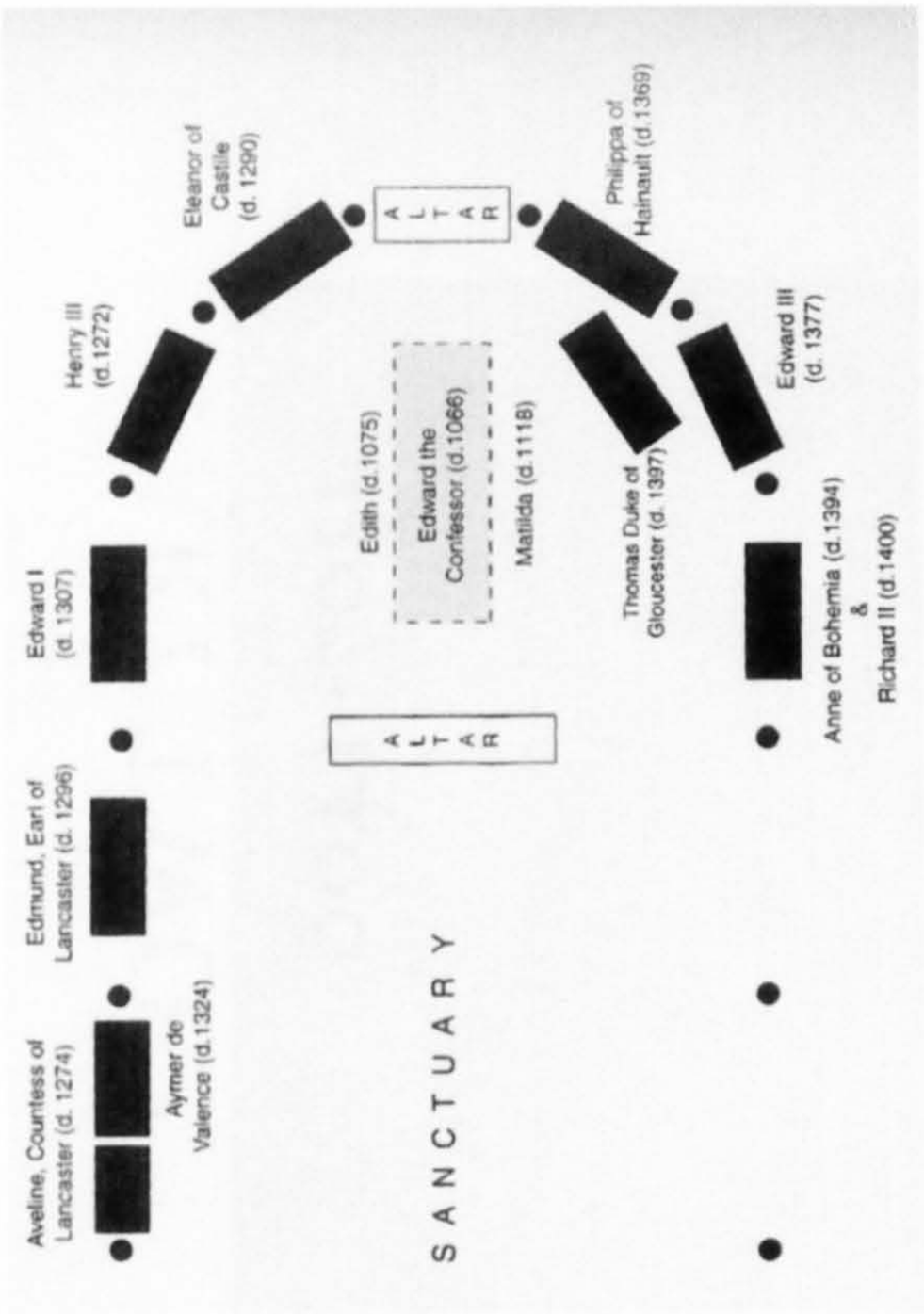


Plate 7. Arrangement of royal tombs around the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor at Westminster Abbey (c.1400).

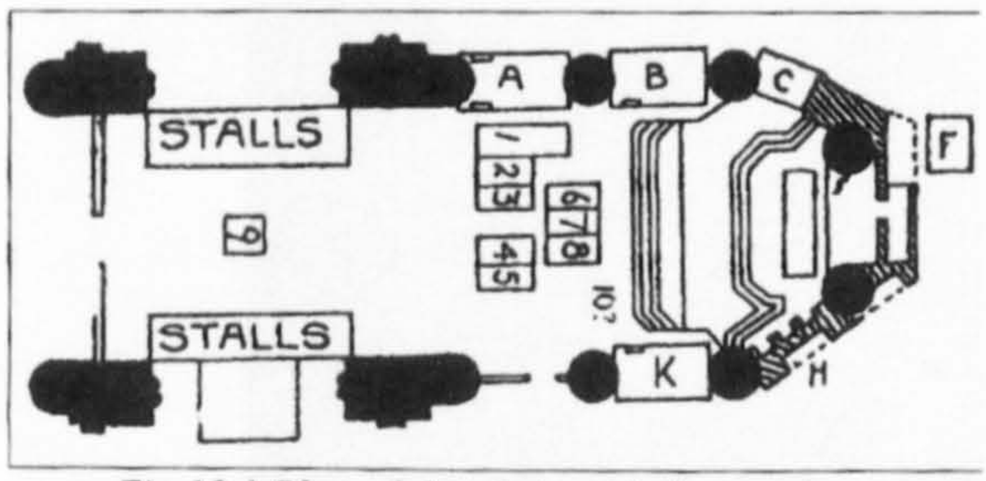


Fig.13.1 Plan of the choir with the secular burial sites and chantry chapels located (after Massé, with additions)

Burials

1. Maud de Clare (d.c.1320)
2. Gilbert III de Clare (k.1314)
3. Gilbert II de Clare (d.1295)
4. Gilbert I de Clare (d.1230)
5. Richard II de Clare (d.1262)
6. Richard Despenser (d.1414)
7. Thomas Despenser (k.1400)
8. Isabel Despenser (d.1439)
9. Henry Beauchamp (d.1446)
10? Elizabeth Burghersh (d.1409)

Chapels and Monuments

A. Warwick Chapel (Richard, earl of Worcester, d.1422)
B. Founder's Chapel (1397)
C. Hugh III Despenser (d.1349) & Elizabeth Montacute (d.1359)
F. Clarence Vault (1476)
H. Hugh II Despenser (ex.1326)
K. Trinity Chapel (Edward Despenser, d.1375)

Plate 8. Arrangement of Despenser and Clare tombs around the choir at Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire.

Plate 9. Effigy of Brian Fitzalan of Bedale (d.1306), Bedale, Yorkshire.

Plate 10. Detail of the Brian Fitzalan of Bedale effigy, Bedale, Yorkshire

Plate 11. Tomb of William, first Lord Vavasour (d.1313). Hazelwood Castle, Yorkshire.

Plate 12. Tomb of Walter, second Lord Vavasour (d.1315), Hazelwood Castle, Yorkshire.

Plate 13. Effigy of John Fitzmarmaduke (d.1310), Chester-le-Street, Durham.

Plate 14. Detail of the effigy of John Fitzmarmaduke (d.1310), Chester-le-Street, Durham.

Plate 15. Effigy of Ralph Fitzwilliam (d.1316), Hurworth, Durham.
Sketch by W. M. I'Anson

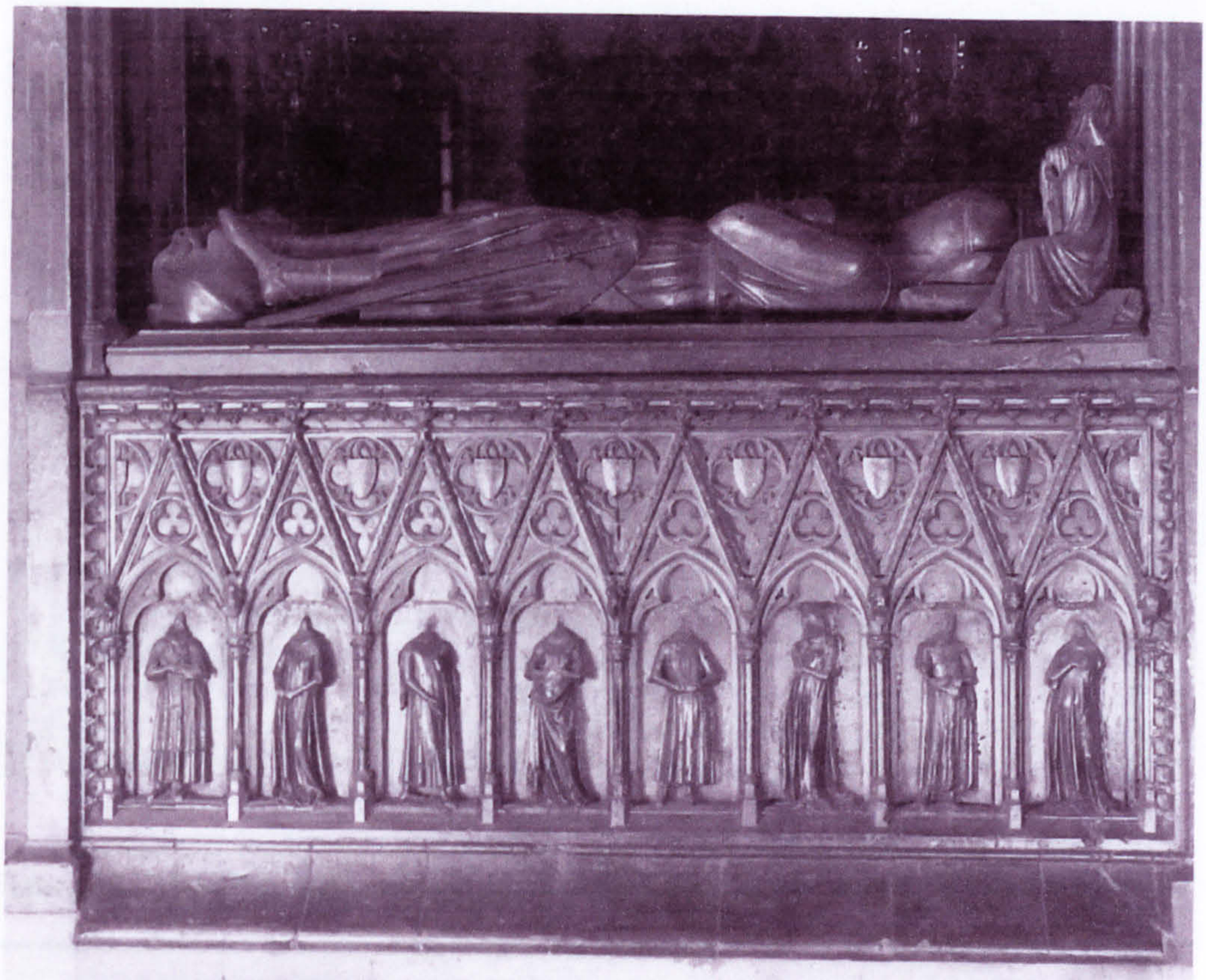


Plate 16. Tomb of Aymer Valence, Earl of Pembroke (d.1324), Westminster Abbey.

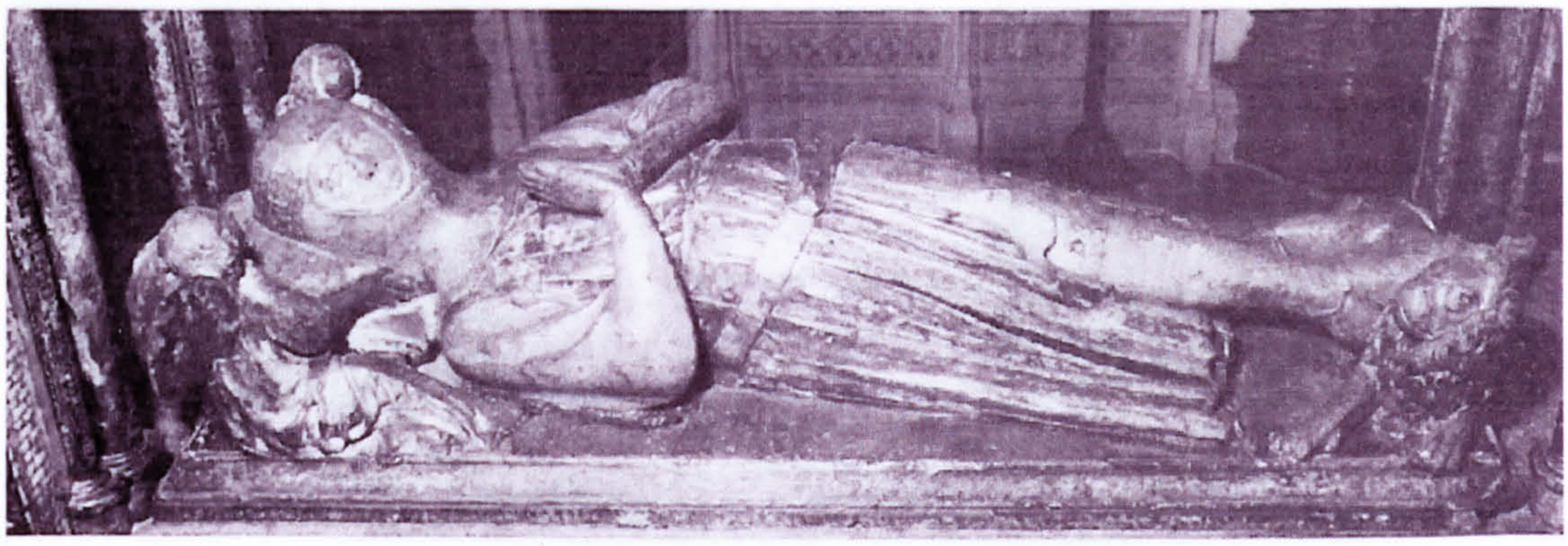


Plate 17. Effigy of Edmund 'Crouchback', Earl of Lancaster (d.1296), Westminster Abbey.

Figure 18. The ciborium tombs on the north side of the presbytery, Westminster Abbey.

Plate 19. Detail of the canopy of the tomb of Edmund, earl of Lancaster, Westminster Abbey.

Plate 20. Detail of the canopy of the tomb of Aymer Valence, Westminster Abbey.

Plate 21. Effigy of William Leybourne (d.1310), Minster-in-Sheppey, Kent. Illustration by C. A. Stothard.

Plate 22. Tomb of John Marmion (d.1387) and his wife Elizabeth St. Quentin, West Tanfield, Yorkshire.

Plate 23. Effigy of John Marmion (d.1387), West Tanfield, Yorkshire.

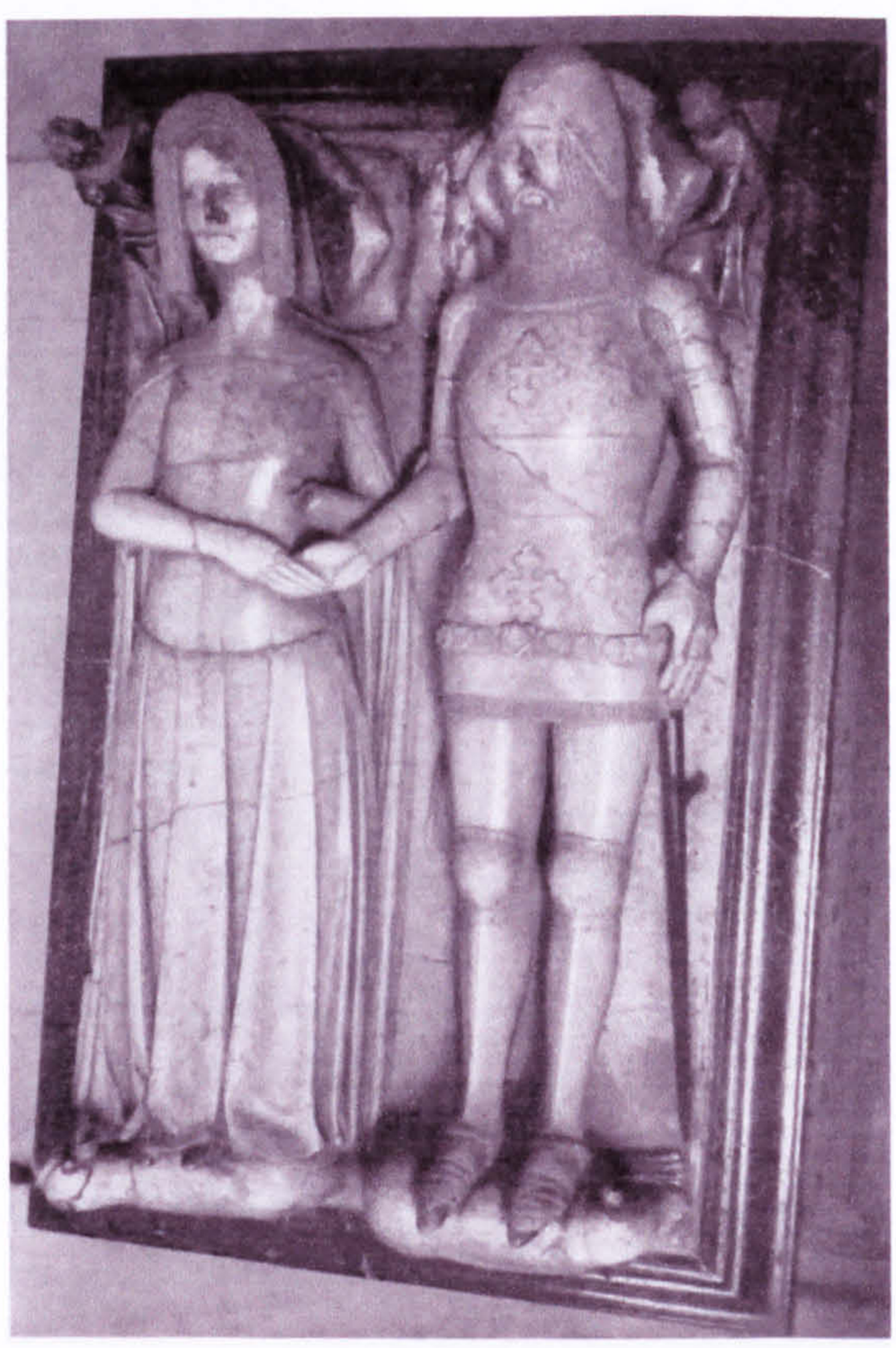


Plate 24. Double tomb of Thomas, Earl of Warwick (d.1369), and Catherine Mortimer, St Mary's. Warwick.

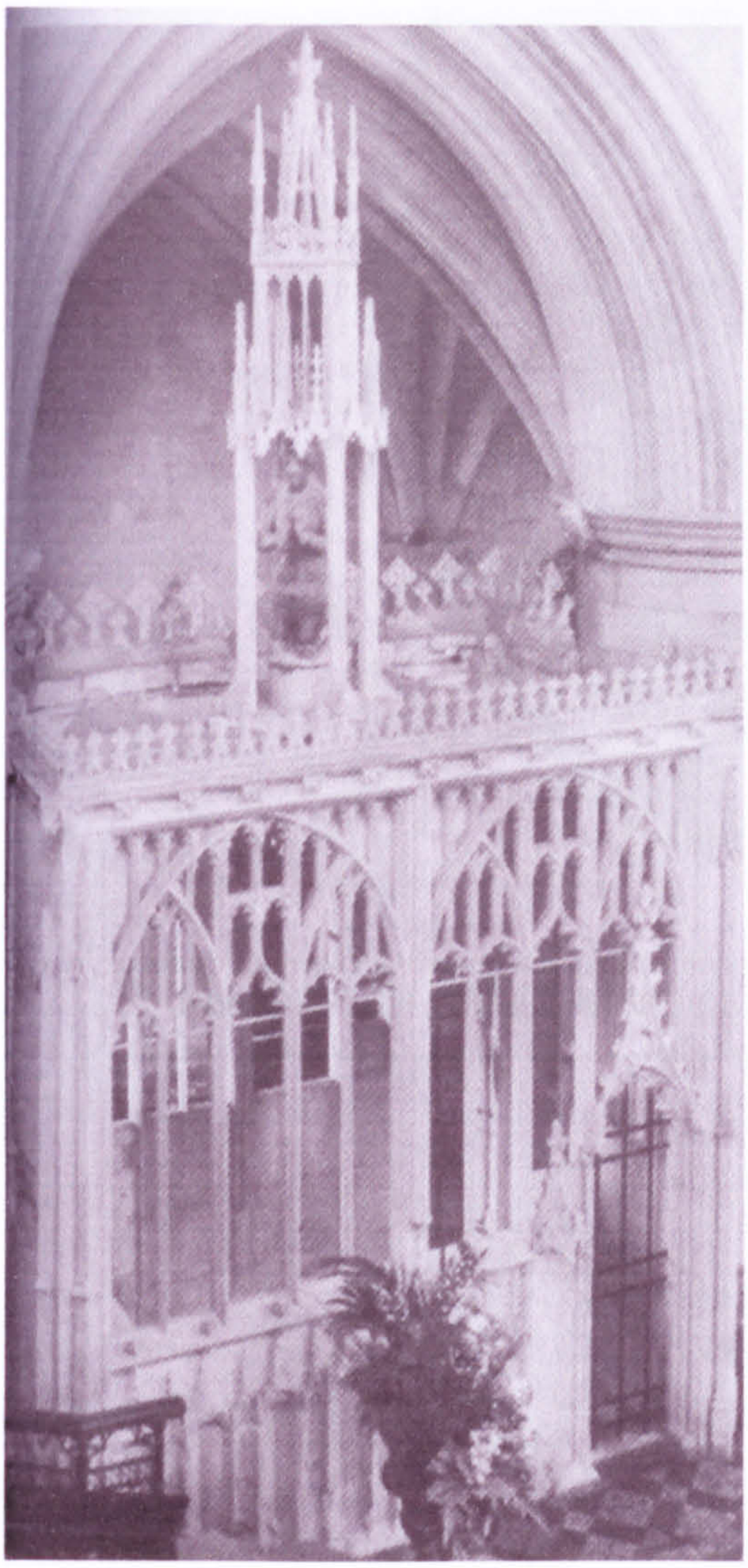


Plate 25. The Despenser Trinity Chapel, Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire.

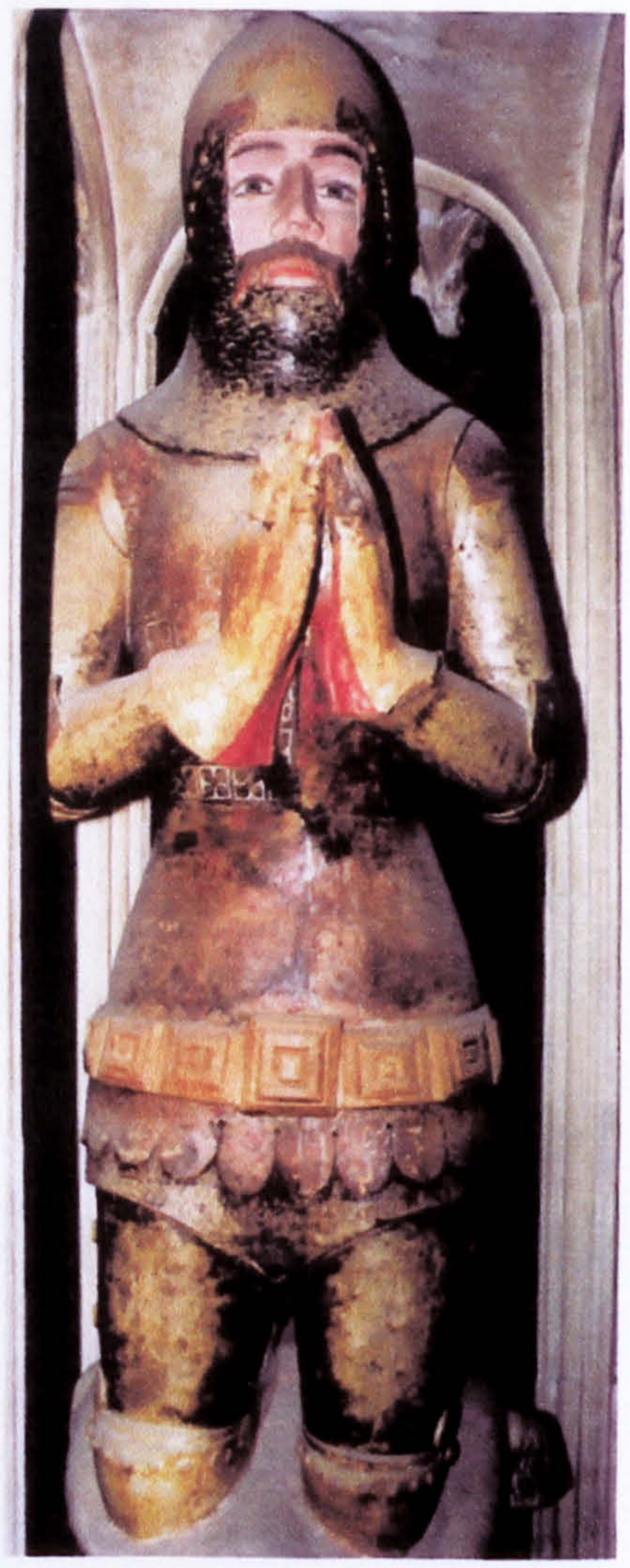


Plate 26. Kneeling effigy of Edward Despenser (d.1375), above the Trinity Chapel, Tewkesbury Abbey.

Plate 27. Seal of the College of St. George's Windsor (c.1350).

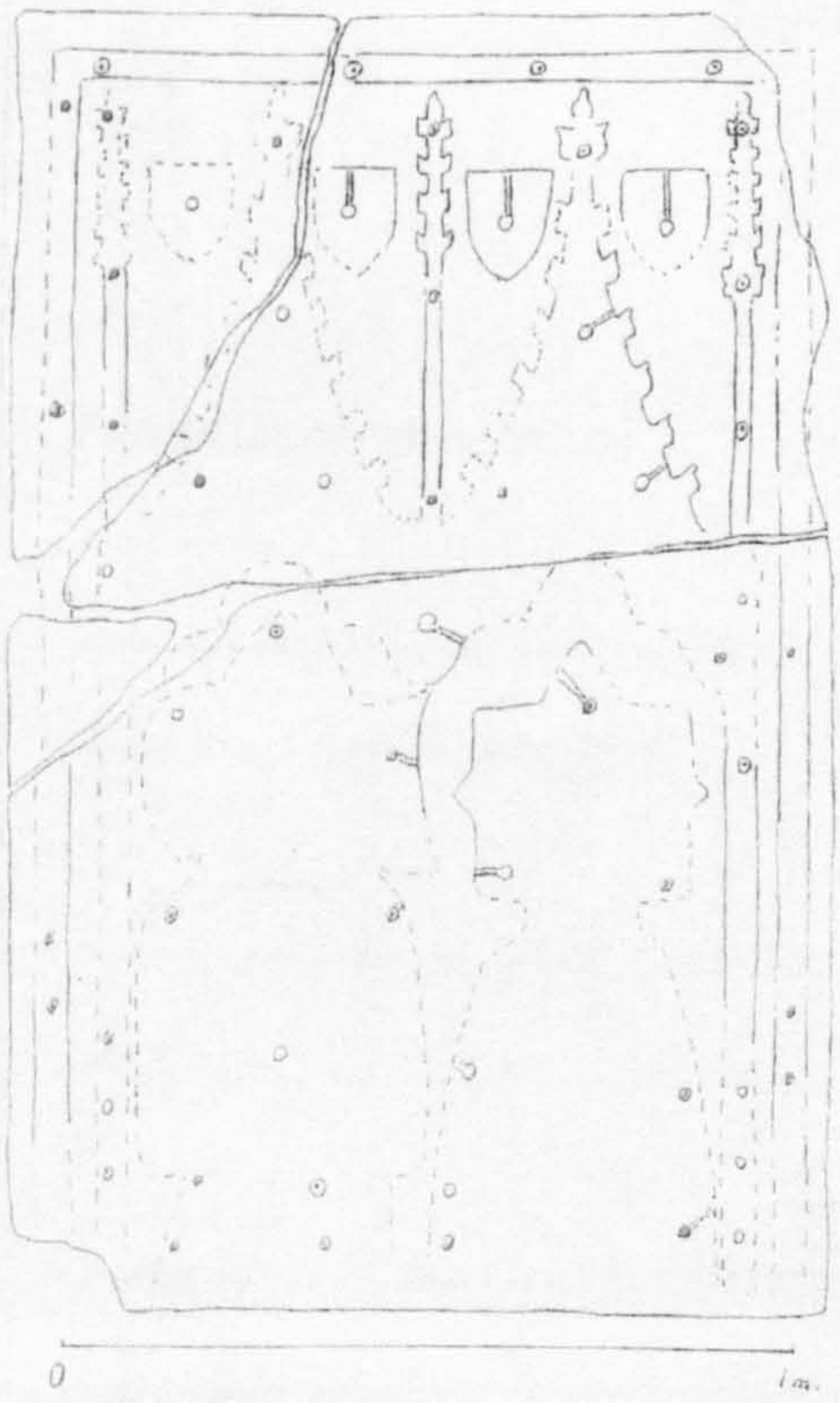


Plate 28. Illustration of the indent of the brass of Michael Poynings (d.1369) and his wife, Poynings, Sussex.

Plate 29. Brass of John, third Lord Cobham (d.1408), Cobham, Kent.

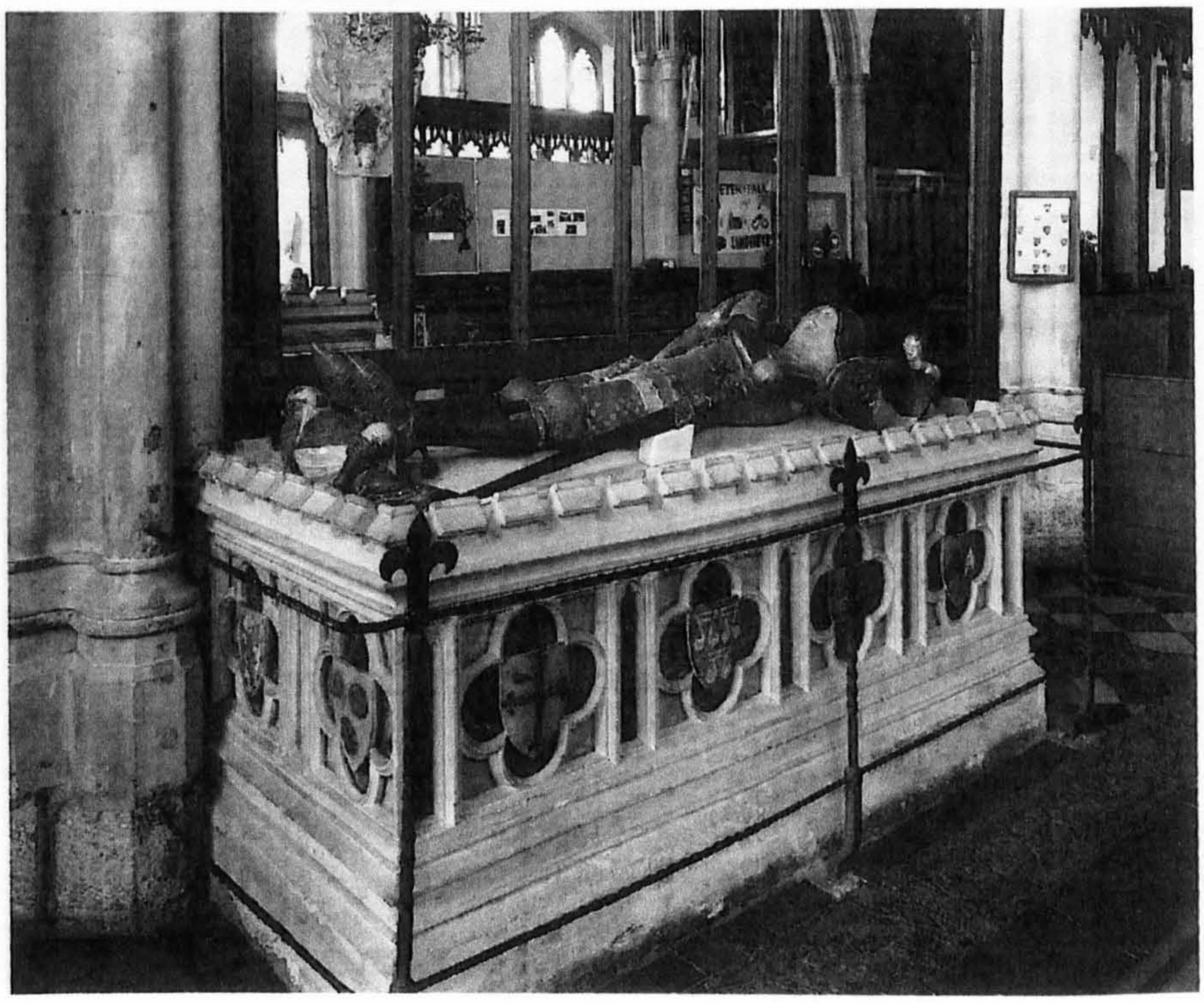


Plate 30. Effigy and tomb chest of Reginald Cobham (d.1361), Lingfield, Surrey.

Plate 31. The gatehouse at Kirkham Priory, Yorkshire.

Plate 32. Detail of the shields representing the arms of Clare, England, Ros and Vaux on the Kirkham Priory gatehouse, Yorkshire.

Plate 33. Brass of Hugh Hastings (d.1349), Elsing, Norfolk.

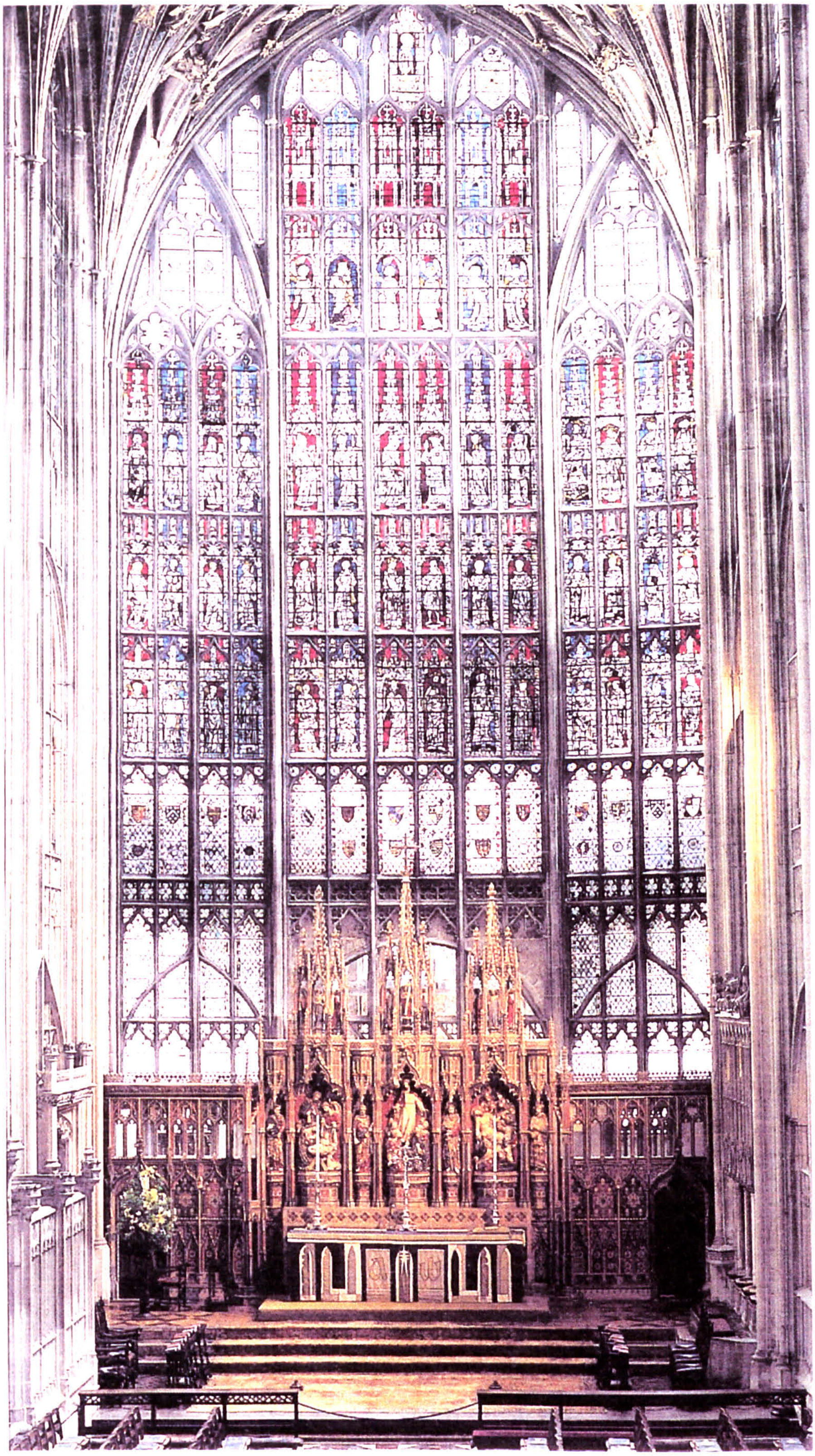


Plate 34. The great east window of Gloucester Cathedral.

Plate 35. North choir Clerestory window, Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire.

Plate 36. South choir Clerestory Window, Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire.

Plate 37. Effigies of Henry Marmion (d.1335) and his wife Maud Furnivival (d. 1360), West Tanfield, Yorkshire.

Plate 38. West Tanfield, Yorkshire: St. Nicholas' parish church and the gatehouse to the Marmion manor house.

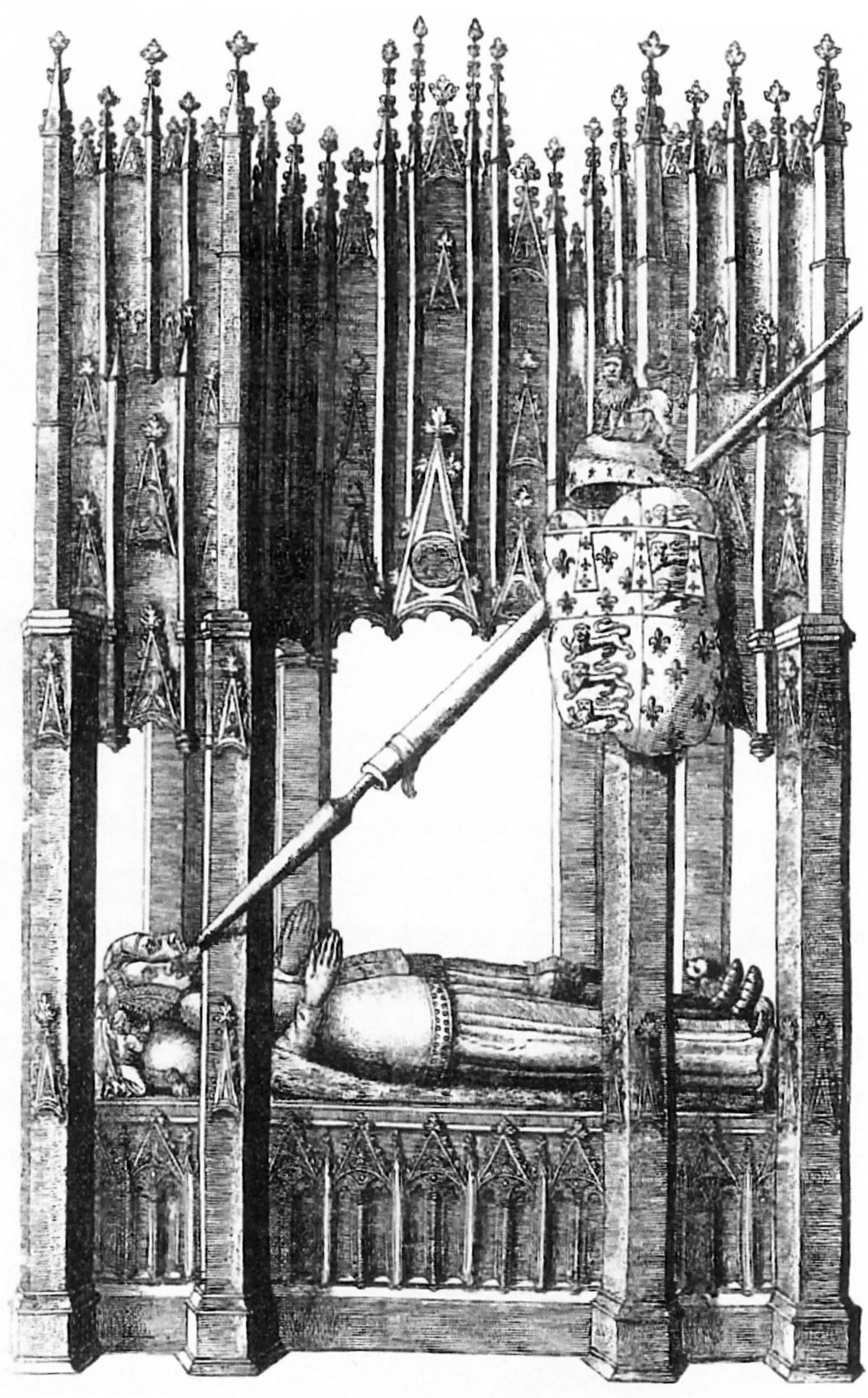


Plate 39. Tomb of John of Gaunt (d.1399) and Blanche Lancaster, originally in Old St. Paul's Cathedral, London.